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THE PROSPECTS OF SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY*

TALCOTT PARSONS

Harvard University

TWO YEARS ago at the annual meeting of this Society it was my privilege to act as chairman of the section on theory and thus to be responsible for a statement of its contemporary position, as part of the general stock-taking of the state of our discipline which was the keynote of that meeting. As that meeting was primarily concerned with taking stock of where we stood, the present one, with the keynote of frontiers of research, is primarily concerned with looking toward the future. It therefore seems appropriate to take advantage of the present occasion to speak of the future prospects of that aspect of sociological science on which more than any other I feel qualified to speak.

The history of science testifies eloquently to the fundamental importance of the state of its theory to any scientific field. Theory is only one of several ingredients which must go into the total brew, but for progress beyond certain levels it is an indispensable one. Social scientists are plagued by the problems of objectivity in the face of tendencies to value-bias to a much higher degree than is true of natural scientists. In addition, we have the problem of selection

among an enormous number of possible variables. For both these reasons, it may be argued that perhaps theory is even more important in our field than in the natural sciences. At any rate, I hope I may presume to suggest that my own election to its presidency by the membership of this society may be interpreted as an act of recognition of this importance of theory, and a vote of confidence in its future development.

Though my primary concern this evening is with the future, perhaps just a word on where we stand at present is in order. Some fifteen years ago two young Americans, who, since they were my own children, I knew quite intimately, and who were aged approximately five and three respectively at the time, developed a little game of yelling at the top of their voices: "The sociology is about to begin," said the man with the loud speaker." However right they may have been about their father's professional achievements up to that time, as delivering a judgment of the state of the field as a whole I think they were a bit on the conservative side. It had already begun, but especially in the theoretical phase that beginning did not lie very far back. The historians of our discipline will have to settle such questions at a future time, but I for

*The Presidential Address read before the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society held in New York, December 28-30, 1949.

one would not hesitate to label *all* the theoretical endeavors before the generation of Durkheim and Max Weber as proto-sociology. With these figures as the outstanding ones, but with several others including a number of Americans like Sumner, Park, Cooley, and Thomas, in a somewhat less prominent role, I feel that the real job of founding was done in the generation from about 1890 to 1920. We belong to the second generation, which already has foundations on which to build. But as for the building itself, a post here and there, and a few courses of bricks at the corners, are all that is yet visible above the ground. After all, two or, more correctly, one and a half generations, in the perspective of the development of a science, is a very short time.

When, roughly a quarter of a century ago, I attained some degree of the knowledge of good and evil in a professional sense, this founding phase was over. The speculative systems were still taken seriously. But the work of such writers as Sumner, Thomas, Simmel, Cooley, Park, and Mead, was beginning to enter into thinking in a much more particularized sense. In fact, a research tradition was already building up, in which a good deal of solid theory was embodied—as in Sumner's basic idea of the relativity of the mores, Thomas' four wishes, and many of Park's insights, as into the nature of competitive processes. This relatively particularized, attention focussing, problem selecting, use of theory in research, so different from the purely illustrative relation between theory and empirical fact in the Spencerian type of system, has continued to develop in the interim. Such fields as that of Industrial Sociology, starting from the Mayo-Roethlisberger work, and carried further at Chicago and Cornell, the study of Ethnic Relations and that of Social Stratification will serve to illustrate. At the same time controversies about total schools, which in my youth centered especially about Behaviorism, have greatly subsided.

Our own generation has seen at least the beginnings of a process of more general pulling together. Even when a good deal of

theory was actually being used in research much of the *teaching* of theory was still in terms of the "systems" of the past, and was organized about names rather than working conceptual schemes. Graduate students frantically memorized the contents of Bogardus or Lichtenberger with little or no effect on their future research operations, and little guidance as to how it might be used. But this has gradually been changing. Theory has at least begun no longer to mean mainly a knowledge of "doctrines," but what matters far more, a set of patterns for habitual thinking. This change has, in my opinion, been considerably promoted by increased interest in more general theory, especially coming from study of the works of Weber and Durkheim and, though not so immediately sociological, of Freud. There has thus been the beginning at least, and to me a very encouraging beginning, of a process of coalescence of these types of more or less explicit theory which were really integrated importantly with research, into a more general theoretical tradition of some sophistication, really *the* tradition of a working professional group.

Compared to the natural sciences the amount of genuine empirical research done in our field is very modest indeed. Even so, it has been fairly substantial. But the most disappointing single thing about it has been the degree to which the results of this work have failed to be cumulative. The limitations of empirical research methods, limitations which are being overcome at a goodly rate, are in part responsible for this fact. But *probably the most crucial factor* has been precisely this lack of an adequate *working* theoretical tradition which is bred into the "bones" of empirical researchers themselves, so that "instinctively" the problems they work on, the hypotheses they frame and test, are such that the results, positive or negative, will have *significance* for a sufficiently generalized and integrated body of knowledge so that the mutual implications of many empirical studies will *play directly into each other*. There are, as I have noted, hopeful signs which point in this direction,

but the responsibility on theory to promote this process is heavy indeed. So important is this point that I should like to have the view of the future role of theory in sociology, which I shall discuss in the remainder of this address, understood very largely in relation to it.

When, then, I turn to the discussion of the prospects of theory in our field I can hardly fail to express my own hope as well as a diagnosis. I hope to combine in my suggestions both a sense of the strategic significance of certain types of development, and a realistic sense of feasibility, if sufficient work by able people is done. I shall also be talking of the relatively near future, since the shape of our science two centuries hence, for instance, cannot, I fear, be realistically foreseen.

Here I should like to discuss five principal types or fields of theoretical development, which are by no means independent of one another; they actually overlap considerably as well as interact. They are:

- 1) General theory, which I interpret primarily as the theory of the social system in its sociologically relevant aspects.
- 2) The theory of motivation of social behavior and its bearing on the dynamic problems of social systems, its bearing both on the conditions of stability of social systems and the factors in their structural change. This of course involves the relations to the psychological level of analysis of personality and motivation.
- 3) The theoretical bases of systematic comparative analysis of social structures on the various levels. This particularly involves the articulation with the anthropological analysis of culture.
- 4) Special theories around particular empirical problem areas, the specific growing points of the field in empirical research. This involves their relations to general theory, and the bases of hypothesis construction in research.
- 5) Last, but in no sense least, the "fitting" of theory to operational procedures of

research and, vice versa, the adaption of the latter to theoretical needs.

The field of general theory presents peculiar difficulties of assessment in sociology. The era of what I have above called "protosociology" was, as I have noted, conspicuous for the prominence of speculative systems, of which that of Spencer is an adequate example. The strong and largely justified reaction against such systems combined with a general climate of opinion favorable to pragmatic empiricism, served to create in many quarters a very general scepticism of theory, particularly anything that called itself general or systematic theory, to say nothing of a *system* of theory. This wave of anti-theoretical empiricism has, I think fortunately, greatly subsided, but there is still marked reluctance to recognize the importance of high levels of generality. The most important recent expression of this latter sentiment, which in no sense should be confused with general opposition to theory, is that of my highly esteemed friend and former student, Robert Merton, first in his discussion paper directed to my own paper on the *Position of Sociological Theory*, two years ago, then repeated and amplified in the Introduction to his recent volume of essays.

The very first point must be the emphatic statement that what I mean by the place of general theory in the prospects of sociology is *not* the revival of speculative systems of the Spencerian type, and I feel that Merton's fears that this will be the result of the emphasis I have in mind are groundless. We have, I think, now progressed to a level of methodological sophistication adequate to protect ourselves against this pitfall.

The basic reason why general theory is so important is that the cumulative development of knowledge in a scientific field is a function of the degree of *generality of implications* by which it is possible to relate findings, interpretations, and hypotheses on different levels and in different specific empirical fields to each other. If there is to be a high degree of such generality there *must* on some level be a common conceptual

scheme which makes the work of different investigators in a specific sub-field and those in different sub-fields commensurable.

The essential difficulty with the speculative systems has been their *premature closure* without the requisite theoretical clarification and integration, operational techniques or empirical evidence. This forced them to use empirical materials in a purely illustrative way without systematic verification of *general* propositions or the possibility of empirical evidence leading to modification of the theory. Put a little differently, they presumed to set up a theoretical system instead of a systematic conceptual scheme.

It seems quite clear, that in the sense of mechanics a *theoretical system* is *not* now or foreseeably possible in the sociological field. The difficulties Pareto's attempt encountered indicate that. But a *conceptual scheme* in a partially articulated form exists now and is for practical purposes in common use; its further refinement and development is imperative for the welfare of our field, and is entirely feasible.

In order to make clear what I mean, I would first like to note that there is a variety of ways in which what I am calling general theory can fruitfully influence research in the direction of making its results more cumulative. The first is what may be called a set of general categories of orientation to observation and problem choice in the field which defines its major problem areas and the directions in which to look for concealed factors and variables in explanation. Thus modern anthropology, by the "cultural point of view," heavily documented with comparative material, has clearly demonstrated the limits of purely biological explanations of human behavior and taught us to look to the processes by which culturally patterned modes are learned, transmitted and created. Similarly in our own field the reorientation particularly associated with the names of Durkheim and Weber showed the inadequacy of the "utilitarian" framework for the understanding of many social phenomena and made us look to "institutional" levels—a reorientation which is indeed the birthright of sociology. Finally, in the field

of motivation, the influence of Freud's perspective has been immense.

Starting from such very broad orientation perspectives there are varying possible degrees of further specification. At any rate in a field like ours it seems impossible to stop there. The very basis on which the utilitarian framework was seen to be *theoretically* as well as empirically inadequate, required a clarification of the structure of systems of social action which went considerably farther than just indicating a new direction of interest or significance. It spelled out certain inherent relationships of the components of such systems which among many other things demonstrated the *need* for a theory of motivation on the psychological level of the general character of what Freud has provided.

This kind of structural "spelling out" narrows the range of theoretical arbitrariness. There are firmly specific points in the system of implications against which empirical results can be measured and evaluated. That is where a well-structured empirical problem is formulated. If the facts then, when properly stated and validated, turn out to be contrary to the theoretical expectation, something must be modified in the theory.

In the early stages these "islands" of theoretical implication may be scattered far apart on the sea of fact and so vaguely and generally seen that only relatively broad empirical statements are directly relevant to them. This is true of the interpretation of economic motivation which I will cite presently. But with refinement of general theoretical analysis, and the accumulation of empirical evidence directly relevant to it, the islands get closer and closer together, and their topography becomes more sharply defined. It becomes more and more difficult and unnecessary to navigate in the uncharted waters of unanalyzed fact without bumping into or at least orienting to several of them.

The development of general theory in this sense is a matter of degree. But in *proportion* as it develops, the generality of implication increases and the "degree of empiri-

cism," to quote a phrase of President Conant's, is reduced. It is precisely the existence of such a general theoretical framework, the more so the further it has developed, which makes the kind of work at the middle theory level which Merton advocates maximally fruitful. For it is by virtue of their connections with these "islands" of general theoretical knowledge once demonstrated that their overlaps and their mutual implications for each other lead to their incorporation into a more general and consistent body of knowledge.

At the *end* of this road of increasing frequency and specificity of the islands of theoretical knowledge lies the ideal state, scientifically speaking, where *most* actual operational hypotheses of empirical research are directly derived from a general system of theory. On any broad front, to my knowledge, only in physics has this state been attained in *any* science. We cannot expect to be anywhere nearly in sight of it. But it does not follow that, distant as we are from that goal, steps in that *direction* are futile. Quite the contrary, *any* real step in that direction is an advance. Only at this *end* point do the islands merge into a continental land mass.

At the very least, then, general theory can provide a broadly orienting framework. It can also help to provide a common language to facilitate communication between workers in different branches of the field. It can serve to codify, interrelate and make available a vast amount of existing empirical knowledge. It also serves to call attention to gaps in our knowledge, and to provide canons for the criticism of theories and empirical generalizations. Finally, even if they cannot be systematically derived, it is indispensable to the systematic clarification of problems and the fruitful formulation of hypotheses. It is this organizing power of generalized theory even on its present levels which has made it possible for even a student like myself, who has done only a little actual empirical research, to illuminate a good many empirical problems and formulate suggestive hypotheses in several fields.

Though it is not possible to take time to

discuss them adequately for those not already familiar with the fields, I should like to cite two examples from my own experience. The first is the reorientation of thinking about the field of the motivation of economic activity. The heritage of the classical economics and the utilitarian frame of reference, integrated with the central ideology of our society, had put the problem of the "incentives" involved in the "profit system" in a very particular way which had become the object of much controversy. Application of the emerging general theory of the institutionalization of motivation, specifically pointed up by the analysis of the contrast between the orientation of the professional groups and that of the business world, made it possible to work out a very fruitful reorientation to this range of problems. This new view eliminates the alleged absoluteness of the orientation to "self-interest" held to be inherent in "human nature." It emphasizes the crucial role of institutional definitions of the situation and the ways in which they channel many different components of a total motivation system into the path of conformity with institutionalized expectations. Without the general theoretical reorientation stemming mainly from Durkheim and Weber, this restructuring of the problem of economic motivation would not have been possible.

The second example illustrates the procedure by which it has become possible to make use of psychological knowledge in analyzing social phenomena without resort to certain kinds of "psychological interpretations" of the type which most sociologists have quite correctly repudiated. Such a phenomenon is the American "youth culture" with its rebellion against adult standards and control, its compulsive conformity within the peer group, its romanticism and its irresponsibility. Structural analysis of the American family system as the primary field of socialization of the child provides the primary setting. This in turn must be seen both in the perspective of the comparative variability of kinship structures and of the articulation of the family with other elements of our own social structure,

notably the occupational role of the father. Only when this structural setting has been carefully analyzed in sociological terms does it become safe to bring in analysis of the operation of psychological mechanisms in terms derived particularly from psychoanalytic theory, and to make such statements as that the "revolt of youth" contains typically an element of reaction-formation against dependency needs with certain types of consequences. Again this type of analysis would not have been possible without the general reorientation of thinking about the relations between social structure and the psychological aspects of behavior which has resulted from the developments in general theory in the last generation or more; including explicit use of the contributions of Freud.

Perhaps I may pause in midpassage to apologize for inflicting on you on such an occasion, when your well-filled stomachs predispose you to relaxation rather than close attention, such an abstruse theoretical discourse. I feel the apology is necessary since what I am about to inflict on you is even more abstruse than what has gone before. Since I am emphasizing the integration of theory with empirical research, I might suggest that someone among you might want to undertake a little research project to determine the impact on a well-fed group of sociologists of such a discourse. I might suggest the following four categories for his classification.

- 1) Those who have understood what I have said, whether they approve of it or not.
- 2) Those who *think* they have understood it.
- 3) Those who do not think they have but *wish* they had, and
- 4) Those who didn't understand, know it and are glad of it.

I can only hope that the overwhelming majority will not be found to fall in the fourth category.

With relatively little alteration, everything I have said up to this point had been written, and has deliberately been left stand-

ing, when I underwent an important personal experience which produced what I hope will prove to be a significant theoretical advance precisely in the field of general theory. With the very able collaboration of several of my own Harvard colleagues and of Professors Tolman of California and Shils of Chicago, the present semester has been devoted to attempting to practice what I have preached, namely to press forward with systematic work in the field of general theory. Partly because of the intrinsic importance of the fields, partly because of its urgency in a department committed to the synthesis of sociology with parts of psychology and anthropology, we have been devoting our principal energies to the *inter-relations* and common ground of the three branches of the larger field of social relations.

This new development, which is still too new for anything like adequate assessment, seems to consist essentially in a method of considerably increasing the number of theoretically known islands in the sea of social phenomena and thereby narrowing the stretches of uncharted water between them. The essential new insight, which unfortunately is not easy to state, concerns the most general aspects of the conception of the components of systems of social action and their relations to each other.

It seems to have been the previous assumption, largely implicit, for instance, in the thinking of Weber, of W. I. Thomas, and in my own, that there was, as it were, *one* "action-equation." The actor was placed on one side—"oriented to" a situation or a world of objects which constituted the other side. The difficulty concerned the status of "values" in action, not as the motivational act of "evaluation" of an object, but as the *standard* by which it was evaluated—in short, the concept "value-attitudes" which some of you will remember from my *Structure of Social Action*. I, following Weber, had tended to put value-standards or modes of value-orientation into the actor. Thomas and Znaniecki in their basic distinction between attitudes and values had put them into the object-system.

We have all long been aware that there were three main problem foci in the most general theory of human behavior which we may most generally call those of personality, of culture, and of social structure. But in spite of this awareness, I think we have tended to follow the biological model of thought—an organism and its environment, an actor and his situations. We have not *really* treated culture as independent, or if that has been done, as by some anthropologists, the tendency has been for them in turn to absorb either personality or social structure *into* culture, especially the latter, to the great discomfort of many sociologists. What we have done, which I wish to report is, I think, to take an important step toward drawing out for *working* theory the implications of the fundamental fact that *man is a culture-bearing animal*.

Our conclusion then is that value-standards or modes of value-orientation should be treated as a *distinct* range of components of action. In the older view the basic components could be set forth in a single "table" by classifying the modes of action or motivational orientation which we have found it convenient to distinguish as cognitive mapping (in Tolman's sense), cathetic (in the psychoanalytic sense) and evaluative, against a classification of the significant aspects or modalities of objects. These latter we have classified as quality complexes or attributes of persons and collectivities, action or performance complexes, and non-human environmental factors. By adding values as a fourth column to this classification, this had seemed to yield an adequate paradigm for the structural components of action-systems.

But something about this paradigm did not quite "click." It almost suddenly occurred to us to "pull" the value-element out and put it into a separate range, with a classification of its own into three modes of value-orientation: cognitive (in the *standard*, not content, sense), appreciative and moral. This gave us a paradigm of *three* "dimensions" in which *each* of the three ranges or sets of modes is classified against *each* of the other two.

This transformation opened up new possibilities of logical development and elaboration which are much too complex and technical to enter into here. Indeed the implications are as yet only very incompletely worked out or critically evaluated and it will be many months before they are in shape for publication. But certain of them are sufficiently clear to give *me* at any rate the conviction that they are of considerable importance, and taken together, will constitute a substantial further step in the direction of unifying our theoretical knowledge and broadening the range of generality of implication, with the probable consequence of contributing substantially to the cumulativeness of our empirical research.

Certain of these implications, which in broad outline already seem clear, touch two of the subjects on which I intended to speak anyway and can, I think, now speak much better. The first of these is the very fundamental one of the connection of the theories of motivation and personality structure on the psychological level with the sociological analysis of social structure. The vital importance of this connection is evident to all of us, and many sociologists have been working away at the field for a long time. Seen in the perspective of the years, I think great progress has been made. The kind of impasse where "psychology is psychology" and "sociology is sociology" and "never the twain shall meet," which was a far from uncommon feeling in the early stages of my career, has almost evaporated. There is a rapidly increasing and broadening area of mutual supplementation.

What has happened in our group opens up, I think, a way to eliminating the sources of some of the remaining theoretical difficulties in this field, and still more important, building the foundations for establishing more direct and specific connections than we have hitherto been able to attain. I should like to indicate some of these in two fields.

The first is the less radical. We have long suspected, indeed on some level, known, that the basic structure of the human personality was intimately involved with the social

structure as well as vice versa. Indeed some have gone so far as to consider personality to be a direct "microcosm" of the society. Now, however, we have begun to achieve a considerable clarification of the bases on which this intimacy of involvement rests, and to bring personality, conceptually as well as genetically, into relation with social structure. It goes back essentially to the insight that the major axis around which the expectation-system of any personality becomes organized in the process of socialization is its *interlocking* with the expectation-systems of others, so that the mutuality of socially structured relationship patterns can no longer be thought of as a *resultant* of the motivation-systems of a plurality of actors, but becomes directly and fundamentally *constitutive* of those motivation systems. It has seemed to us possible in terms of this reoriented conception to bring large parts both of Tolman's type of behavior theory and the psychoanalytic type of theory of personality, including such related versions as that of Murray, together in a close relation to sociological theory. Perhaps the farthest we had dared to go before was to say something like that we considered social structure and personality were very closely related and intimately *interacting* systems of human action. Now I think it will probably prove safe to say that they are in a theoretical sense different phases or aspects of the *same* fundamental action-system. This does not in the least mean, I hasten to add, that personality is in danger of being "absorbed" into the social system, as one version of Durkheim's theory seemed to indicate. The distinction between the personality "level" of the organization of action and the social system level remains as vital as it ever was. But the *theoretical* continuity, and hence the possibility of using psychological theory in the motivation field for sociological explanation, have been greatly enhanced.

The second point I had in mind is essentially an extension of this one or an application of it. As those of you familiar with some of my own writing since the *Structure of Social Action* know, for some years I

have been "playing" with a scheme of what I have found it convenient to call "pattern variables" in the field of social structure, which were originally derived by an analytical breakdown of Toennies' *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft* pair into what seemed to be more elementary components. This yielded such distinctions as that between universalism, as illustrated in technical competence or the "rule of law," and particularism as given in kinship or friendship relations, or to take another case, between the "functional specificity" of an economic exchange relationship and the "functional diffuseness" of marriage. Thus to take an illustration from my own work, the judgment of his technical competence on which the choice of a physician is supposed to rest is a universalistic criterion. Deviantly from the ideal pattern, however, some people choose a physician because he is Mary Smith's brother-in-law. This would be a particularistic criterion. Similarly the basis on which a physician may validate his claim to confidential information about his patient's private life is that it is necessary if he is to perform the specific function of caring for the patient's health. But the basis of a wife's claim to a truthful answer to the question "what were you doing last night that kept you out till three in the morning?" is the generally diffuse obligation of loyalty in the marriage relationship.

Again I cannot take time to go into the technicalities. But the theoretical development of which I have spoken has already indicated two significant results. First it has brought a scheme of five such pattern variables—the four I had been using, with the addition of the distinction of ascription and achievement which Linton first introduced into our conceptual armory—into a direct and fundamental relation to the structure of action systems themselves. These concepts can now be systematically derived from the basic frame of reference of action theory, which was not previously possible.

Secondly, however, it appears that the same basic distinctions, which were all worked out for the analysis of *social* structure, can, when rephrased in accord with

psychological perspective, be identified as fundamental points of reference for the structuring of personality also. Thus what sociologically is called universalism in a social role definition can be psychologically interpreted as the impact of the mechanism of generalization in object-orientation and object choice. Correspondingly, what on the sociological level has been called the institutionalization of "affective neutrality" turns out to be essentially the same as the imposition of renunciation of immediate gratification in the interests of the disciplined organization and longer-run goals of the personality.

If this correspondence holds up, and I feel confident that it will, its implications for social science may be far reaching. For what these variables do on the personality level is to serve as foci for the structuring of the system of predispositions or needs. But it is precisely this aspect of psychological theory which is of most importance for the sociologist since it yields the *differentiations* of motivational orientation which are crucial to the understanding of socially structured behavior. *Empirically* we have known a good deal about these differentiations, but *theoretically* we have not been able to connect them up in a systematically generalized way. It looks as though an important step in this direction had now become possible. With regard to its potential importance, I may only mention the extent to which studies of the distribution of attitudes have come to occupy a central place in the empirical work both of sociologists and of social psychologists. The connection of these distribution data with the social structure on the one hand and the structure of motivational predispositions on the other has had to a high degree to be treated in empirically *ad hoc* terms. Any step in the direction of "reducing the degree of empiricism" in such an area will constitute a substantial scientific advance. I think it is probable that such an advance is in sight, which, if validated, will have developed from work in *general* theory.

Let us now turn to the other major theoretical field, the systematization of the bases

for *comparative* analysis of social structures. First I should like to call attention to the acute embarrassment we have had to suffer in this field. On the level of what I have made bold to call "proto-sociology" it was thought that this problem was solved by the implications of the evolutionary formulae which arranged all possible structural types in a neat evolutionary series which *ipso facto* established both their comparability and their dynamic relationships. Unfortunately, from one point of view, this synthesis turned out to be premature; but from another this was fortunate, for in one sense the realization of this fact was the starting point of the transition from proto-sociology to real sociology. At any rate, in spite of the magnificence of Max Weber's attempt, the basic classificatory problem, the solution of which must underlie the achievement of high theoretical generality in much of our field, has remained basically unsolved.

As so often happens there has been a good deal of underground ferment going on in such a field before the results have begun to become widely visible. There are, I think, signs of important progress. One of these is the great step toward the systematization of the variability of kinship structure which our anthropological colleague, Professor Murdock, has reported in his recent book. For one critically important structural field we can now say that many of the basic problems have been solved. But this still leaves much to be worked out, particularly in the fields of more complex institutional variability in the literate societies, in such areas as occupation, religion, formal organization, social stratification and government.

Just as in the problem of the motivation of socially structured behavior our relations to psychology become peculiarly crucial and intimate, so in that of systematizing the structural variability of social systems, our relations to anthropology are correspondingly crucial. This, of course, is because of the ways in which the basic cultural orientations underlie and interpenetrate the structuring of social systems on the action level. Anything, therefore, which can help to clarify the most fundamental problems of

the ways in which values and other cultural orientation elements are involved in action systems should sooner or later contribute to this sociological problem.

In general, anthropological theory in the culture field has in this respect been disappointing, not that it has not provided many empirical insights, which it certainly has, but precisely in terms of the present interest in systematization. I am happy to report that my colleague, Dr. Florence Kluckhohn has, in yet unpublished work, made some promising suggestions the implications of which will, I think, turn out to be of great importance. In what follows I wish gratefully to acknowledge my debt to her work.

In this connection it is important that the central new theoretical insight to which I have referred above came precisely in this field, in a new view of the way values are related to action. The essence of this is the *analytical* independence of value-orientation relative to the psychological aspects of motivation. It introduces an element of "play" into what had previously been a much more rigid relation, this rigidity having much to do with the unfortunate clash of sociological and anthropological "imperialisms."

The independence of value-orientation encourages the search for elements of structural focus in that area. The "problem areas" of value-choice seem to provide one set of such foci, that is, the evaluation of man's relation to the natural environment, to his biological nature and the like. But along with these there are foci differentiating the alternatives of the basic "directionality" of value-orientation itself. In this connection, it has become possible to see that a fundamental congruence exists between at least one part in the set of "pattern variables" mentioned above, that of universalism and particularism, and Max Weber's distinction, which runs throughout his sociology of religion, between transcendent and immanent orientations, the Western, especially Calvinistic orientation, illustrating the former, the Chinese the latter.

Bringing such a differentiation in relation to basic orientation-foci together with the

problem foci seems to provide at least an initial and tentative basis for working out a systematic classification of some major possibilities of cultural orientation in their relevance to differentiations of social structure. Then through the congruence of these with the possible combinations of the values of pattern variables in the structuring of social roles themselves, it seems possible further to clarify some of the modes of articulation of the variability of cultural orientations with that of the structure of the social systems which are their bearers and, in the processes of culture change, their creators.

In this field even more than that of the relation between social structure and motivation, what I am in a position to give you now is not a report of theoretical work accomplished, but a vision of what *can* be accomplished if the requisite hard and competent work is done. This vision is not, however, I think, mere wishful thinking. I think we have gone far enough so that we can see real possibilities. We are in a position to organize a directed and concerted effort with definite goals, not merely to grope about in the hope that something will come out of it.

It seems to me that the importance of progress in this field of structural analysis which attempts to establish the bases of comparability of social structures can scarcely be exaggerated. I have indeed felt for some time that the fact that we had not been able to go farther in this direction was a more serious barrier to the all-important generality and cumulativeness of our knowledge than was the difficulty of adequately linking the analysis of social structure to psychological levels of the understanding of motivation.

The problem of the importance of structural variability and its analysis is most obvious when we are dealing with the broad structural contrasts between widely differing societies. It is, however, a serious error to suppose that its importance is confined to this level. Every society, seen close to, is to an important degree a *microcosm* of the various possibilities of the structuring of human relationships all over the world and

throughout history. The variability *within* the same society, though subtler and less easy to analyze, is none the less authentic.

Of course in any one society *some* possibilities of structural variability are excluded altogether, or can appear only as radically deviant phenomena. But it must not be assumed that in spite of its conformity to a broad general type, the American middle-class family for instance is, *precisely in terms of social structure*, a uniform cut-and-dried thing. It is a complex of many importantly variant sub-types. For some sociological problems it may be precisely the structural differentiations between and distribution of these sub-types which constitute the most important data. To say merely that these are middle-class families will not solve such problems. But it is not necessary for the sociologist to stop there and resort to "purely psychological" considerations. He can and should push his distinctive type of structural analysis on down to these levels of "minor" variability.

In the present state of knowledge, or that of the foreseeable future, we are bound to a "structural-functional" level of theory. There will continue to be long stretches of open water between our islands of validated theory. In this situation we cannot achieve a high level of dynamic generalization for processes and interdependences even *within* the same society, unless our ranges of structural variability are really systematized so that when we get a shift from one to another we know *what* has changed, *to what* and *in what degree*. This order of systematization can, like all theoretical work, be verified only by empirical research. But experience shows that it cannot be worked out by sheer *ad hoc* empirical induction, letting the facts reveal their own pattern. It must be worked out by rigorous theoretical analysis, continually stimulating and being checked by empirical research. In sum I think this is one of the very few most vital areas for the development of sociological theory, and here as in the other I think the prospects are good.

The above two broad areas of prospective theoretical advance are so close to the most general of general theory that they would

scarcely qualify as falling within the area of "special theories," which was the fourth area about which I wanted to talk. I have precisely taken so much time to discuss these because of their importance for more special theories. I am very far indeed from wishing to disparage the importance of this more special and in one sense more modest type of theoretical work; quite the contrary. It is here that the growing points of theory in their direct working interaction with empirical research are to be found. If the state of affairs at that level cannot be healthy we should indeed despair of our science.

I will go farther. It seems to me precisely that the fact that real working theory at the research levels did not exist and was not developed in connection with them was perhaps the most telling symptom that the "speculative systems" of which I have spoken were only pseudo-scientific, not genuinely so. Most emphatically I wish to say that the general theory on which I have placed such emphasis can *only* be justified in so far as it "spells out" on the research level, providing the more generalized conceptual basis for the frames of reference, problem statements and hypotheses, and many of the operating concepts of research. In these terms it underlies the problem-setting of research, it provides criteria of more generalized significance of the problem and its empirical solution, it provides the basis on which the results of one empirical study become fruitful, not merely in the particular empirical field itself, but beyond it for other fields; that is, for what above I have called its *generality of implication*. In my opinion it is precisely because of its orientation to a sound tradition of general theory, however incomplete and faulty, that the particular theories which are developing so rapidly in many branches of the field are so highly important and promising for the future. Let us, by all means, work most intensively on the middle theory level. That way lies real maturity as a science, and the ultimate test of whether the general theory is any good. And of course many of the most important contributions to general theory will come from this source.

This brings me finally to the fifth point on my agenda, the fitting in of theory with the operational procedures of research. Thus far I have been talking to you about theory, but I was careful to note at the outset that however important an ingredient of the scientific brew theory may be, it is only one of the ingredients. If it is to be *scientific* theory it must be tied in, in the closest possible manner, with the techniques of empirical research by which alone we can come to know whether our theoretical ideas are "really so" or just speculations of peculiar if not disordered minds.

Anyone who has observed the social science scene in this country over the past quarter century cannot fail to be impressed by the very great development of research technique in our field, in very many of its branches. Sampling has come in to make it possible for the social scientist to manufacture his own statistical data, instead of having to work only with the by-products of other interests. Techniques of statistical analysis themselves have undergone an immense amount of refinement, for example, in the development of scaling procedures. An altogether new level has already been attained in the collection and processing of raw data, as through questionnaire and interview, and the development of coding skills and the like. I used to think that the construction of a questionnaire was something any old dub could dream up if he only knew what information he wanted. I have learned better. The whole immense development of interviewing techniques with its range from psychoanalysis to Gallup and Roper lies almost within the time period we are talking about. The possibilities of the use of projective techniques in *sociological* research are definitely exciting. The Cross-Cultural Survey (now rechristened) and Mr. Watson of I.B.M. vie with each other to create more elaborate gadgets for the social scientist to play with. We have even, as in the communications and the small groups fields, begun to get somewhere with relatively rigorous experimental methods in sociology, no longer only in psychology among the sciences of human behavior.

This whole development is, in my opinion, in the larger picture *at least* as important as that of theory. It is, furthermore, exceedingly impressive, not merely for its accomplishments to date, important as these are, but *still more* for its promise for the future. There is a veritable ferment of invention going on in this area which is in the very best American tradition.

If I correctly assess the recipe for a really good brew of social science it is *absolutely imperative* that these two basic ingredients should get together and blend with each other. I do not think it fair to say that we are still in the stage of proto-science. But we are unquestionably in that of a distinctly *immature* science. If it is really to grow up and not regress into either of the two futilities of empiricist sterility or empirically irrelevant speculation, the synthesis must take place. In this as in other respects the beginning certainly has already been made but we must be quite clear that it is *only* a beginning.

This is a point where a division of labor is very much in order. It surely is not reasonable to suppose that all sociologists should become fully qualified specialists in theory and the most highly skilled research technicians at the same time. Some will, indeed must, have high orders of competence on both sides, but this will not be true of all. But the essential is that there should be a *genuine* division of labor. That means that all parties should directly contribute to the effectiveness of the whole. For the theoretical side this imposes an obligation to get together with the best research people and make every effort to make their theory researchable in the highest sense. For the research technician it implies the obligation to fit his operational procedures to the needs of theory as closely as he can.

It has been in the nature of the circumstances and processes of the historical development of theory that much of its empirical relevance has heretofore been made clear and explicit only on the level of "broad" observations of fact which were not checked and elaborated by really technical procedures. The value of this, as for instance

it has appeared in the comparative institutional field, should not be minimized. But clearly this order of empirical validation is *only* a beginning. For opening the doors to much greater progress it is necessary to be able to put the relevant content of theory in terms which the empirical research operator can directly build into his technical operations. This is a major reason why the middle theories are so important, because it is on that level that theory will get *directly* into research techniques and vice versa. Again in this field the beginnings I happen to know about are sufficiently promising so that I think we can say that the prospects are good.

Theory has its justification *only* as part of the larger total of sociological science as a whole. Perhaps in closing I may be permitted a few general remarks about the prospects of sociology as a science. I have great confidence that they are good, a solidier and stronger confidence than at any time in my own professional lifetime, provided of course that the social setting for its development remains reasonably stable and favorable.

These prospects are, however, bound up with the fulfillment of certain internal as well as external conditions. One of the most important of these on which I would like to say a word, is a proper balance between fundamental research, including its theoretical aspect, and applied or "engineering" work. This problem is of course of particular interest to our friends in the Conference on Family Welfare. Both the urgencies of the times and the nature of our American ethos make it unthinkable that social scientists as a professional group should shirk their social responsibilities. They, like the medical profession, must do what they can where they are needed. Indeed it is only on this assumption that they will do so that not only the very considerable financial investment of society in their work, but the interferences in other people's affairs which are inevitably bound up with our research, can be justified.

It is not a question of *whether* we try to live up to our social responsibilities, but of *how*. If we should put the overwhelming

bulk of our resources, especially of trained talent, into immediately practical problems it would do some good, but I have no doubt that it would have to be at the expense of our greater usefulness to society in the future. For it is only by systematic work on problems where the probable *scientific* significance has priority over any immediate possibility of application that the greatest and most rapid scientific advance can be made. And it is in proportion as sociology attains stature as a science, with a highly generalized and integrated body of fundamental knowledge, that practical usefulness far beyond the present levels will become possible. This conclusion follows most directly from the role of theory, as I have tried to outline it above. If the prospects of sociological theory are good, so are, I am convinced, those of sociology as a science, but *only* if the scientifically fundamental work is done. Let us, by all means, not be stingy with the few golden eggs we now have. But let us also breed a flock of geese of the sort that we can hope will lay many more than we have yet dreamed of.

One final word. Like all branches of American culture, the roots of sociology as a science are deep in Europe. Yet I like to think of sociology as in some sense peculiarly an American discipline, or at least an American opportunity. There is no doubt that we have the leadership now. Our very lack of traditionalism perhaps makes it in some ways easier for us than for some others to delve deeply into the mysteries of how human action in society ticks. We certainly have all the makings for developing the technical know-how of research. We are good at organization which is coming to play an increasingly indispensable part in research.

It is my judgment that a great opportunity exists. Things have gone far enough so that it seems likely that sociology, in the closest connection with its sister-sciences of psychology and anthropology, stands near the beginning of one of those important configurations of culture growth which Professor Kroeber has so illuminatingly analyzed. Can American sociology seize this oppor-

tunity? One of our greatest national resources is the capacity to rise to a great challenge once it is put before us.

We can do it if we can put together the right *combination* of ingredients of the brew. Americans as scientists generally have been exceptionally strong on experimental work and empirical research. I have no doubt whatever of the capacity of American sociologists in this respect. But as *theorists* Americans have, relative to Europeans, not been so strong—hence the *special* challenge

of the theoretical development of our field which justifies the theme of this address. If we American sociologists can rise to this part of the challenge the job will really get done. We are not in the habit of listening too carefully to the timid souls who say, why try, it can't be done. I think we have already taken up the challenge all along the line. "The sociology," as my children called it, is not *about* to begin. It has been gathering force for a generation and is now really under way.

A MIDDLEMAN LOOKS AT SOCIAL SCIENCE*

CHARLES DOLLARD

Carnegie Corporation of New York

IN INVITING me to speak to you tonight, your president emphasized the fact that it was the desire of the Executive Committee (and I quote) "to secure someone outside the field who could speak about some of the general problems of the place of sociology in particular and the social sciences in general in our society." At first reading, this characterization of me as an outsider saddened me immeasurably, especially when I recalled that it could be proved on the record that I was enrolled as a part-time graduate student in sociology for about ten years. On reflection, I have come to accept the justice of Mr. Parsons' estimate. I am not a social scientist. Worse still, I see no possibility that I shall ever develop into one. The fault is entirely my own. Some of the ablest men in the guild—Ross, Young, Gillin, McCormick, Linton—labored patiently to make a silk purse out of this particular sow's ear. Alas, their efforts were in vain. Since I left graduate school, younger members of the craft—John Dollard, Samuel Stouffer, Leonard Cottrell, Donald Young, Raymond Bowers, Carl Hovland, Pendleton Herring, my classmate Clyde Kluckhohn, Alexander Leighton and my office partner, John Gard-

ner—have taken up the task with no better success. I am now resigned to the inevitable, and wholly content to be regarded merely as a friend of the social sciences rather than as a member of the guild.

If my behavior over the past ten years has not identified me as a friend, nothing which I can say here tonight will improve my credentials. My strong desire to be accepted as such is explained in part by the fact that some of the things I shall have to say later in the evening will be critical, and it is somewhat easier to take criticism from friends than from enemies.

At this point, I must make a conventional disclaimer. I am not speaking tonight for the Carnegie Corporation of New York. That Corporation is composed of fourteen trustees, who have elected me as the fifteenth to serve at their pleasure and to be their chief representative in the daily conduct of the Corporation's business. These fourteen are very independent persons and anyone who essayed to express their joint judgment on any problem except sin or taxes would be foolish indeed. I can say, however, and now I am speaking also for my colleagues in the staff of the Corporation, that a conviction as to the importance of the social sciences is an implicit condition of my employment. I can say also in all honesty, that

* Address delivered at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society held in New York, December 28-30, 1949.

this fact has been made perfectly clear to the other trustees, both in the programs we have presented for their approval and in the reports which we have published annually for the past four years.

I am not, however, so naïve as to think that one in my position can divorce himself from his official responsibilities in making any kind of a public statement. I have firmly in mind Devereux Josephs' dictum that "the splendor of a philanthropoid's countenance is never more than a reflection of the gold in his foundation's till."

In addition to accepting Mr. Parsons' characterization of me as an outsider, I have identified myself as a middleman. The word should be interpreted literally. The officers of any foundation are always in the middle. On one side is their academic clientele, concerned primarily with ideas and speaking to them in language which only academic people understand. On the other are the laymen who comprise the foundation's board, who, while respecting ideas, are interested mainly in end results, and who are trained to speak and understand only the King's English. The only other functionaries in our society who occupy equally uncomfortable positions are university presidents who, in my judgment, are the unhonored heroes of America.

The pain of being a middleman may, of course, be sharply reduced by the simple decision to identify wholly with either one or the other of the two groups which I have mentioned. The only difficulty is that this escape is a flight from reality which reduces the foundation executive to the status of an intellectual eunuch. It is an escape which some foundation executives have taken but only at the cost of losing the respect of their academic clientele, their trustees, and perhaps most important, their opposite numbers in other foundations.

Nevertheless, the middleman's lot, like the policeman's, is not a happy one. To live daily between the rough surfaces of the near and nether grindstones is a wearing life, productive of neuroses and ulcers. If at times tonight I speak with impatience, I hope you will take this fact into account. To para-

phrase Dexter Keezer, whose delightful book on his experience at Reed College is one of the gems of academic literature, the foundation executive is not only a part of the academic machinery, but lives in daily terror of being ground up in it.

Now having indulged myself in an over-long preamble and having discharged my aggressions toward your president, academicians generally, and all trustees living and dead, let me move to the subject. I am taking perhaps undue advantage of the last phrase of the key sentence in Mr. Parsons' letter of invitation by addressing myself to problems which concern all of the social sciences rather than merely sociology. I have two points on which I should like to comment briefly. The first is the role of the social scientist in contemporary American culture; the second, the problem of integration or, if you prefer, synthesis, in the social sciences.

Social scientists form one element in a larger body which my colleague, John Gardner, has referred to as "brain workers." Much of what I have to say tonight about the role of social scientists in our culture is cribbed, both language and ideas, from an unpublished paper which I took from Mr. Gardner's private files after taking the precaution of speeding him off on a make-work trip.

Over the centuries, Mr. Gardner notes, various cultures have developed a variety of ways of dealing with their brain workers. In static and isolated societies, such as ancient Tibet, the brain worker's role was to assimilate and pass on to others a large body of lore and precept. In the more modern but still non-industrialized societies of 16th and 17th century Europe, the brain workers found protection by serving as a source of edification and entertainment for the ruling aristocracy, their occasional heresies being regarded, in those pre-radio and pre-newspaper days, as amusing rather than dangerous. Other primitive or non-industrialized societies found still other solutions but none, so far as we know, has ever denied some role to those members of the tribe who used their heads rather than their hands.

For obvious reasons, none of these his-

toric solutions is available to a modern industrialized society such as ours. New ideas, new techniques, new perceptions are the fuel which keeps an industrial society running. More important, the machinery of communication has now developed to the point where ideas are as infectious as germs and their diffusion even harder to control.

While modern industrialized societies find unworkable the simple formulae which earlier cultures developed to deal with their brain workers, they still have alternatives open to them. This fact is dramatized by the differing roles of the brain workers, including social scientists, in our own society, on the one hand, and in the Soviet Union and its political and intellectual dependencies, on the other. In our own society we have, by common agreement, granted a large, I may say almost complete, freedom to our brain workers. By and large they are free to think about what they will and to express the results of their thinking without let or hindrance. In the Soviet Union, on the other hand, and let me say parenthetically that this is my last reference to the Russian situation, brain workers are conceived as instrumentalities which exist only to serve the political ends of the state. In my judgment this fundamental difference in the conception of the rôle of the brain worker does more to guarantee our national security and to give hope of an ordered and peaceful world than does our possession of the atomic bomb, on which weapon our patent now seems less secure than we had reckoned.

I said that we granted our brain workers almost complete freedom. Perhaps we could agree that the natural scientists *have* complete freedom, or at least *had* it *until* 1945. American social scientists, on the other hand, while they enjoy a greater measure of freedom than social scientists in any other country save possibly Great Britain, are still subject to some fear of reprisal if they make bold to scrutinize some of the more fundamental patterns, beliefs, and assumptions which prevail in our culture, or to pierce what William James called "the cloudbank of ancestral blindness."

A distinguished social scientist of my acquaintance tells me that on the basis of empirical evidence, he has identified three subjects on which an honest scholar may speak freely *only* in the privacy of his own castle,—social class, child rearing, and international relations. Others in this audience might extend this list considerably on the basis of their own painful experience. American laymen have a deep-rooted but unclear conviction that one must be adaptable and change with the times, while at the same time they jealously preserve their right to draw and quarter any scholar whose research suggests that some particular social change is in order.

But my purpose tonight is not to commiserate with you on the disabilities which our culture inflicts on you. I hope and believe that American social scientists will eventually have as much freedom as is now accorded to their fellows in the older sciences. Meanwhile, I think Dr. Kinsey has demonstrated that you have all the freedom you need to get on with your essential work—more indeed than most of you are using. What I should like to do, rather, is to express a word of caution or, better, of hope about how you use the freedom which your great intellectual forbears—Sumner, Giddings, Thomas, James, Boaz, Thorndyke, to name only a few—have bequeathed to you. It has been a matter of some surprise to me to realize that while social scientists freely use the concepts of "culture" and "the unconscious" in their research they do not *always* apply these concepts to an analysis of their own relationship to the large American society of which they are a part. In their sometimes ruthless and cynical criticism of other elements in our culture, social scientists have often failed to reflect the anthropologists' discovery that a society, like a shirt, can split at the seams if it is handled too roughly; nor have they always factored out their own deep aggressions in analyzing and reporting their data on social and economic problems.

Now, I have served time myself in the academic poorhouse. I have eaten hot dogs and beer when others were dining on caviar

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and champagne. I am not, therefore, surprised to note that social scientists have some hostility against a society which believes that the scholar, like the greyhound, runs fastest on lean rations. The American scholar and the American teacher might fairly say to the rest of the society: "Stay me with flagons; comfort me with apples; for I am sick of love." On the other hand, scholars and teachers have chosen of their own free will to compete for rewards less tangible and more abiding than money. They cannot have their cake and eat it too; and if social scientists work off their aggression by using the increasingly sharp tools of social science to divide the American society into armed camps they will indeed have made a sorry use of their freedom.

Now I am not suggesting that we leave this room in a body to lay a wreath on George Babbitt's tomb; nor am I proposing that we accept Mr. Conant's suggestion that social scientists subscribe to a new Hippocratic oath. Science has its own commitment for which good men have bled and died, and we are in no need of new oaths. All I am doing tonight is expressing the hope that social scientists will be faithful to their own hard-won truths, and go about their necessary job of social criticism with a deep sense of responsibility for the health of their own society.

So much for the question of the role of the social scientist in American culture. Now I should like to say a word or two about the social science fad of the moment, i.e., integration or synthesis. Alan Gregg tells a story, which I have no doubt is apocryphal, about the British visitor who was being shown the Gothic splendors of Yale by a case-hardened inmate of that institution. Passing the Institute of Human Relations, the visitor inquired what people did "in there." "I don't really know," answered his guide, "all I know is that they do it together."

On the basis of first-hand information, I happen to believe that much that goes on nowadays in the Institute of Human Relations is of first-rate importance. But if the experience of the Institute proves anything

at all, it proves that synthesis in the social sciences cannot be achieved by assembling a lot of specialists in a fine building; it proves that synthesis is not an inevitable function of contiguity or the end product of administrative fiat; it proves that synthesis happens *only in the minds of men*, never in buildings or inter-departmental committees.

During the past two years the Carnegie Corporation has been asked to underwrite a variety of programs in which "synthesis" or inter-departmental collaboration was the key-note. With a few significant exceptions these programs have all been brave verbalizations, with little more substance than one of Mr. Vishinsky's peace proposals. The hard grinding work of developing a nucleus of men, each of whom was master of more than one discipline, had been bypassed. On close scrutiny, these programs resembled nothing so much as a street scene in a Hollywood set, the bravely painted façade barely concealing the tattered canvas and the broken scaffolding of the last extravaganza.

If anyone in this audience is carrying the draft of such a plan in his brief case, my best advice is to burn it forthwith. Zero synthesized or zero integrated is still zero, and most foundation officers, deficient as they are in mathematical training, have finally figured this out.

The fact remains that closer and more fruitful collaboration between the several disciplines in the social sciences is urgently needed if social science is to do its job. What I am saying is that to achieve this collaboration will be a slow and painful process requiring much more than good will and determination. As I have already implied, the first requirement is men with the patience and the drive to master the tools of crafts other than their own. We already have some such men. At the risk of being invidious I shall name a few of them by way of illustration. Henry A. Murray is one, Clyde Kluckhohn is another, and Alexander Leighton is a third. If I weren't allergic to nepotism, I could name a fourth. Now if anyone has in his brief case a plan to produce more social scientists with this combination of skill and training which makes

real synthesis or interdisciplinary collaboration possible, I can promise that it will be carefully read in the offices of the Carnegie Corporation.

You have been very patient and I shall not try your patience further. I remind you once more that I have spoken as a friend and in the bosom of the family. At the risk of being drummed out of my own guild I want, in conclusion, to let you in on a trade secret. *The foundations need you much more than you need them or their money.* Honest

foundation officers sooner or later come to know that money *really* is barren until and unless it is joined to men with ideas. The growth of science depends not on money but on free men and free minds. If all foundations were to disappear tomorrow, social science would go on, more slowly perhaps, but quite as surely. All *we* can do is to speed you on your way. Speaking now for the Carnegie Corporation, I say in all sincerity and humility that we are proud to play the role of handmaiden.

SOME SOCIAL FACTORS BEARING UPON JAPANESE POPULATION*

JOHN C. PELZEL
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IT IS OBVIOUS that the Japanese have traditionally placed a great deal of emphasis upon family. Family has interested them. It has had a larger role in social organization than it has had in the recent West. It has been one of the major institutional referents to which they have turned to explain social relations and to underwrite ethics. I doubt if there is any need to go very far in describing this family. The family has been the basic unit out of which many secondary groupings were constructed, and the locus of a great deal of behavior that is no longer familial with us. Family has been a major source of security, both objective and emotional. Formalism and stratifying mechanisms are strong in non-family relations, with the result that family often allows an otherwise rare outlet for relatively uninhibited expression. Other relations tend to be structured in terms of family. Ethical guides to conduct at home become standards for behavior outside, while the decision as to what is good or bad is often arrived at in terms of what is good or bad for the family. In such an environment, the compulsion to marriage, and to marriage at a relatively

early age, is marked. Children are desired for preservation of the lineage, for support and security, for the life they bring to a household felt to be intolerably lonely without them, for a variety of reasons. The pressure for children, and for a fairly large number of them, is strong. These features of a family-centered society are familiar and need no elaboration.

However, there are certain features of this "familism" with which I should like to spend a little more time. The place of family in the developing modern industrial and commercial economy of the cities, for example, is of interest. Until quite recently, Japan has been predominantly rural and agricultural, with a relatively static technology. Cities began to grow up, and people began to move from farming into commercial occupations as early as 200 years ago, in the mid-18th century. It was only after the beginning of Meiji,¹ 80 years ago, however, that this movement gathered much momentum, and only after the First World War that it reached flood proportions. By the late 1930's, continental wars and preparations for the Second World War had at

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¹ The Meiji Era extended from 1868 to 1912 and was marked by far-reaching changes in the nation following the isolation of the earlier feudal period.

last converted Japan into a heavy industry and urban country. Full urbanization and industrialization have, in consequence, come only recently. Whether by reason of their tardiness and the strength of the appeal of family, or for other causes, urbanization and industrialization have not yet destroyed many features of the family-orientated society.

Prior to physical modernization, property was typically family property and the work group normally the family group. This was true not only among food-producers, but also among artisans and merchants. This is still true today, not only among people following traditional occupations, but even among a good part of the new urban, industrial and commercial groups. The best figures that I have been able to obtain for the postwar period show that as many as 84 per cent of all industrial establishments are plants employing five workers or fewer, and this is approximately the situation that obtained also before the war. Such small shops are in very large part, it appears, single-family plants. Though I have no comparable figures for commerce, the overwhelming number of single-family stores one sees would argue that the same situation is found there.

Even where the ownership and work group are no longer made up of a single family, a sense of traditional kinship and the habits of the rural village are very often kept alive in them. In spite of the rather formidable productive powers of Japanese industry, manufacturing is typically carried on in small or medium-sized plants. As late as 1937, when the country had already been converted to heavy industry, 90 per cent of all industrial establishments employed 100 workers or fewer, and 70 per cent of all industrial laborers were at work in these plants. A large proportion of the factories were even very much smaller than 100 workers, as the figures I cited previously show.

In this industry, in the experience of either worker or enterpriser, the line between urban and rural life, between farming and modern industry, is often not sharp. Because of the seasonal nature of farm

work, the farmer has a great deal of spare time; he lives on such a shallow margin that he must use this time to increase his income. Before the modern day, farmers were largely self-sufficient, manufacturing industrial goods needed about the house and farm during their free time and by home craft techniques. Since cheap manufactured goods have become available, the farmer has lost his production self-sufficiency, but an expanding economy has made it possible for him to recoup his losses by working out for wages during the slack season or by sending members of his family to work for extended periods in the factory. The putting-out system flourishes today in most villages not too far from an industrial center. Mills have been dispersed throughout much of the countryside to take advantage of local farmer labor. Rapid transportation facilities are well developed throughout most of the small country and many farmers regularly migrate to the city factory during the slack season. A considerable part of the urban industrial labor force is made up of people who live at home on the farm at least part of the time but commute daily to city factories for work. These ties with the village are marked among laborers, but they are perhaps as typical of enterprisers as well. In recent decades, greater economic opportunity has allowed a multitude of small enterprisers to get a start, and they are drawn in considerable part from the farm, often remaining very nearly as closely bound to it, and to the ancestral family there, as their workers.

In addition to these developments, which have kept the industrial population closely tied to the village, the pattern of family has been so strong a cognitive element that relationships in the factory have been typically structured in terms of simulated family. This organization cements the bonds between enterpriser and worker in relationships that are familial, terminology and expectations of behavior conforming often closely to the model. Until perhaps 20 years ago, this system of organization seems to have been very nearly universal among small and medium-sized plants and it persists very strongly in them today. In sum, though the

urban, and industrial and commercial, portions of the population have increased very markedly during the last few decades, many factors have prevented a corresponding breakdown of the sense of family at home in the rural village.

This is not to say that there have not been marked changes in the family structure concurrent with urbanization and industrialization. There have been, as the somewhat smaller families and the lower birth rates of the city and of modern occupational groups show. I want to touch upon these changes later, but, before doing so, I should like to discuss briefly the nature of mobility aspirations.

Before the beginning of Meiji, a legal social-class system partitioned the population among several classes and castes from which the individual had little chance of escape. There were a number of dimensions to this system, and it was reasonably close to a total social-class system. It was occupational. It was also the arbiter of standard of living. Farmers might not eat white rice or wear silks. Merchants must live in houses of mean exterior. Outcasts were not allowed any other floor in their houses than the bare dirt. Perhaps the most critical basis for classification, however, was possession of the political and military power of the State. On this dimension, all classes fell into two fairly clear divisions—those who controlled and those who were controlled. There was a certain amount of individual mobility among economic classes, as distinct from socio-legal classes. People changed their occupations. Some farmers, and even outcasts, acquired a certain amount of wealth and a better standard of living. Many merchants acquired a great deal of wealth. These violations of the rules of the legal class system occurred in what appear to have been moderate numbers, but there seems to have been only an insignificant amount of mobility with respect to the dimension of political and military power. The Restoration was engineered by an out-group within the older directive class.

After the Restoration, the legal class system was abolished. Mobility became highly

institutionalized, emphasized by a high evaluation upon status differences and perhaps even by the memory of a day, not far distant, when mobility was impossible. In time, with the gradual expansion of economic opportunity, mobility became one of the marked features of the modern society.

Today, people are encouraged to seek out modern occupations and higher positions in industry and business. Compulsory education provides at least the basic skills for modern living to the masses of the people and goals are strongly directed toward higher education. Higher standards of living and wealth have been put up as goals for achievement. Especially after the First World War, and except possibly during the recent wartime period, political and bureaucratic position were thrown open to mass mobility. In spite of the general similarity of the mobility pattern to that with which we are familiar in our own society, there are certain distinctive differences to be noted.

The social class system before Meiji was supported by a powerful and explicit ideology of social class. This ideology stressed family and counseled the subordination of the individual to the group. It placed a low value upon material standard of living and wealth and accented contentment with one's lot in these respects. It urged co-operation, rather than self-interest, as a motivation for relations with the members of one's community, one's own class and superior and inferior classes. At the same time, it taught subordination to superiors and leadership over inferiors and placed high evaluations upon the control of other men, especially through the channels of State organization.

These standards still make themselves felt to a marked degree today. It is difficult to rationalize self-interest. Mobility is, to a considerable extent, thought of, not so much as mobility of the individual, but as that of a group of which the individual is one part, and this group is typically the family or, to a lesser extent, the simulated family. There are strong justifications in the ethical system for immersing the individual in a co-operative group, and co-operation

between superiors and inferiors is quite as well thought of as is co-operation among peers. It is difficult to advance one's own head above those of the others with whom one is bound except as part of a general advance of the group and along somewhat narrowly circumscribed lines. An at least overt lack of concern with standard of living and wealth mobility has continued fairly strongly to characterize the Japanese into the modern period. On the contrary, there is a significant tendency to interpret mobility in terms of the acquisition of organizational and positional status—essentially, of control over other men. Where the drives to power of this sort are not strong, one can, with propriety, be content with only a very minimal standard of living, and turn one's attention to family and to the satisfactions of a traditional, communal life. Where the mobility drives are strong, on the other hand, it is not as necessary that they be gratified through sacrifices to attain a higher standard of living, and certainly not to attain individual independence. Organizational status and power over others can be acquired at least in part through what we may call, broadly, "political" means, and wealth tends to be more the requisite for acquiring position and organizational status than an end result of the mobility process worthy of prestige in and for itself. Such mobility, moreover, does not so strongly imply leaving one's family and family-like group attachments behind; they are, in fact, often tools integral to the process. These devices have to date, it seems, reduced the conflict between mobility and family aspirations.

As I have already indicated, urbanization and industrialization are still only quite recent today, but they have already produced many of the effects with which we are familiar in the West. The family has ceased to be an economic group, and is losing all those functions but the familial, for increasingly larger parts of the population. Compulsory schooling takes the child away from the home at an early age and keeps him out of it for periods of the day until the age of 12-13—and, in the future, until 15-16—acquainting him with secondary attachments

and tending to make him sophisticated in dealing with modern ideas. Mass communications are well developed and a vigorous ideology attacking almost every feature of the old family system has, except during the recent wartime period, gained wider and wider currency. During the 1920s, when an anti-family philosophy was developing its positions, it seems probable that it got extension more among the urban educated classes than elsewhere. Since the end of the recent war, anti-family has been identified with a great number of other ideas labelled "progressive" and has gone with them down to the farmer and worker, themselves caught up in a number of advanced movements that go far beyond the scope of family and that lay them open to the invasion of Western ideology on a scale never before experienced.

These movements have focused more and more attention upon the individual. The long history of capitalism in post-Meiji Japan has itself led to a clearer and clearer institutionalization of self-interest in the mobility process. In spite of the sanctions that still exist against it, higher standard of living goals have become increasingly the objective of mobility. Co-operation is less sanctioned much of the time than competition. Nowhere is this more clear than in competition fostered among economic classes—between landlord and tenants, employers and workers—by such egalitarian and materialistic movements as land reform and labor unionism, whether they are frankly Marxist or avowedly democratic. During the period of expanding economic opportunity after Meiji, and while self-interest and mobility goals were still low and circumscribed, large numbers of children could be produced and taken care of. Nevertheless, the need for lineage preservation, one of the basic demands of the old family system, can be accomplished with only one male child, or even with only a female child, through the process of adoption of a son-in-law to be a son. A lowered death rate, heightened economic standards and diminished economic opportunity can lead to a curtailment in the number of children produced without inter-

fering violently with this portion of the family standard. During the Edo Period,² the population remained nearly static, and though this may have been accomplished as much or more through a high natural death rate than through conscious limitation upon numbers of children, the small size of an average family that a static population implies did not destroy the family system.

I do not have time to go further in indicating some of the changes that are taking place in the features of Japanese society outlined above. There is one more element in the traditional culture that I should like to mention because it also is pertinent to the population problem today. The State occupies a unique and powerful position in the culture. In spite of the strong hold of family over the minds of the Japanese, it has never been the overwhelming arbiter of values and ethics that it has been in China. It is interesting, in fact, that Confucian family ideology should ever have remained as strong in Japan as it has. Class and the State have been as important as family in Japan, though they have never been able to compete as effectively with family in China. In Japan, after the Taika Reform of the 8th century, large territorial clans began to decline in importance and the Japanese family system has never been able since then to develop extended kinship groups that could compete with the State for loyalty. Government, in making its demands, has normally been able to pay lip service to Confucian canons and, as interpreted hitherto, the rights of the State, strong as they have been, have not needed to be posed in essential conflict with a familistic ideology. Government has, in fact, in the past attempted to support family, not on the theory, as in China, that the State was made up of families with whom primary loyalties lay, but that families were integral units in a well-ordered hierarchical State in which initiative flowed from the top.

The State is, nevertheless, a potential channel for making changes in family. It has vast prestige and Government has long

been accepted as the arbiter of public morality. During the Edo Period, the Government set up explicit standards for individual and group behavior, as we have seen in connection with the discussion of the legal class system. This activity by Government may have been as successful as it was because the ethics it taught fitted in so well with customary standards. Nevertheless, it is also true that the State was able to have itself accepted as a final authority, and as a proper guide to the development of its subjects' morality and activities, to a degree that is found today only in totalitarian countries.

Since the beginning of Meiji, the Government has in some ways exercised its directive rights less openly and it has certainly been considered less the instrument of monopoly social control by a small segment of the population. Its directive position has, however, been reinforced by nationalism and by the precedents it set in controlling the development of the economy and, in fact, of social organization generally. It is still, to a degree difficult to comprehend in America, looked to for initiative. There is little doubt that the profound social changes of the modern period, both those instituted after the Restoration and those being attempted today, owe a great deal of their success to the popular belief that Government is not only almighty but properly a leader.

I point to this consideration because of the possibility that measures for changing mass attitudes originating with the Government, or not opposed by Government, and couched in terms of the good of the State will succeed. It is at least with the tacit acquiescence of Government that changes in social organization and public morality threatening to the idea of the dominion of State and of the power of the Government are today being introduced to the Japanese. I can see no reason why this same channel cannot successfully introduce ideas and works that will have the effect of undermining parts of the family system pertinent to the population problem. It is perhaps terrifying to an American so to use the sanctions

² The 17th, 18th, and early 19th centuries.

of State loyalty, and one may properly be pessimistic about the degree to which that loyalty can ever be broken down if it is so continually used. Where the prestige of the State has so often in the past been used to reinforce its own authority and the power

of its Government, however, it does not seem amiss to use it now in an attempt to make it regurgitate some of its authority and powers, or to take those measures which, to the best of our conscience, seem necessary to the lives of its members.

THE NEED FOR A POPULATION POLICY IN JAPAN*

WARREN S. THOMPSON

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JAPAN faces a very difficult problem in her effort to become self-supporting under the conditions resulting from her defeat in World War II. It will be impossible to discuss in any detail here the reasons for this conclusion, but it will be necessary to summarize briefly the facts of the situation if this conclusion is to be accepted as reasonable.

Japan now consists of only the four main islands and Ryukyu, an area of somewhat less than 148,000 square miles (slightly smaller than the state of California), the numerous smaller islands still belonging to Japan having little economic importance. Before World War II Japan held Formosa (about 14,000 square miles), Korea (about 85,000 square miles), and southern Saghalien (about 14,000 square miles) as colonies. She also held the Kwantung Leased Territory in southern Manchuria (over 1,300 square miles). After 1931 Manchuria (about 500,000 square miles as expanded into Manchukuo by 1940) belonged for all practical purposes in this category, although it was not legally a colony. Japanese mandated areas in the Central and Western Pacific, in spite of their containing rather important amounts of raw materials for fertilizers, were of comparatively little importance to the economy of Japan.

Before World War II Japan Proper imported about one-sixth of her food, much of it from Formosa, Korea, and Manchuria.

Her fisheries (outside the waters of Japan Proper) were also of great importance since they covered much of the Western Pacific, reaching from Alaska on the North to the Antarctic in the South. Clearly, the severance of all economic ties with Formosa, Korea, Saghalien, and Manchuria, and the restriction of her fisheries within relatively narrow limits around Japan Proper were bound to reduce the food supply of the Japanese.

The industry of Japan also was affected adversely by the loss of her colonial holdings, for they supplied many raw materials and semi-manufactured products. In turn, the colonies constituted a substantial market for Japanese manufactures within a "yen bloc." The virtual monopoly of trade with her colonies in manufactured goods insured very favorable terms of trade in these areas to the manufacturers and traders of Japan.

By the terms of the armistice the Allies undertook to return to Japan Proper not only the 3.5 to 4 million Japanese military personnel abroad at the close of the war, but about 3 million Japanese civilians living in the colonies and occupied areas. Up to the end of 1948 over 6 million Japanese had been repatriated; but since over 1 million foreigners—chiefly Koreans—had been evacuated from Japan, the net increase in population between October, 1945 and the end of 1948 from these movements was a little over 5 million. The natural increase during the same period was approximately 3.5 million. This total increase of 8.5 million since the war is only slightly larger

* Paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society held in New York, December 28-30, 1949.

than the total increase (8.0 million) between 1940 and the end of 1948.¹ The important fact is that in spite of the war, but partly because of the return of prewar Japanese migrants, there was an average increase of about 1 million a year. Thus at the beginning of 1949 there were a little over 81 million Japanese who had to be supported on the reduced area referred to above.

The natural resources of the present territory must be described very briefly and the probable growth of population during the next few years must be estimated as well as possible before we can fully appreciate the most urgent population problem of Japan today. This problem, in the writer's opinion, may best be summed up in the question: Can Japan hope to become self-supporting and to maintain a reasonably decent level of living under the political, economic, and demographic conditions existing today?

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF PRESENT-DAY JAPAN

Agricultural Expansion. Japan has a very dense population in terms of persons per square mile of cultivated land—about 2,840 per square mile, counting the area of double-cropped land twice. This is almost 4.5 persons per acre. The tilled area cannot be greatly extended, and such extension as may occur will take place largely at the expense of the forest area. It will consist of land much of which is subject to serious erosion and is of relatively low fertility.

The increase of food production through the use of more fertilizer (most of which must be imported), improved tillage, better disease and insect control, and the development of better plant varieties will almost certainly be considerable. Experienced agriculturists cautiously suggest a 10 per cent increase in the staple grains in the next ten years. But any increase in excess of this 10 per cent is likely to come chiefly from potatoes (Irish and sweet), which are commonly liable to somewhat greater variation in production than the staple grains; and the land used for them must come chiefly from that

already used to produce grain. Furthermore, the increased production of potatoes will not only create storage and utilization problems far more difficult than those encountered in the use of the grains, but will almost certainly raise important dietary problems. In view of these facts, it seems most reasonable to conclude that Japan must continue for some years to import a significant proportion of her food.

Japan's Minerals. Japan has only a few of the minerals essential to modern industry in sufficient abundance to permit of unhampered production. Coal, zinc, and sulphur are the most abundant, but because of the poor quality of some of the seams and the difficulties of mining, certain reservations must be made with regard to their cost of production. Most other minerals are in short supply and are generally of inferior quality. Even salt is lacking and must be secured by evaporating sea water if produced at home. This means that Japan must rely heavily on imports of many minerals, especially iron ore, if she is to develop an efficient and varied industrial production. The size of the essential imports at any given time will depend chiefly on the extent of population growth, although any rise in the level of living would also increase the need for mineral imports and for imports of other raw materials such as cotton, jute, wool, rubber, and a large variety of others less important but still essential to an industrial economy.

Industrial Facilities. A considerable proportion of Japanese industry was destroyed during the war and, even where plants escaped destruction, much of their equipment is now in such bad condition that large capital expenditures will be required merely to restore them to their prewar status. But this is not enough. Technological progress in the United States and Europe during and since the war must be incorporated into Japanese plants if they are to compete with those of other countries in world markets, even though their labor costs may be significantly lower. The major part of the required capital must come from abroad, chiefly from the United States, if recovery

¹ The census of October 1, 1940 gave a total population of 73,144,000, including armed forces overseas.

is to be fairly rapid. Foreign loans for the restoration of Japanese industry—and for Japanese shipping if it is again to become a source of foreign exchange—will not be forthcoming in adequate amounts until it is reasonably certain that profitable markets can be found for Japanese goods and services. There is little evidence as yet that such markets are developing rapidly either at home or abroad. There is much reason to believe, therefore, that the rehabilitation of Japanese industry and shipping is likely to be slow and subject to many setbacks.

Furthermore, the fact that Japanese industry must develop in such a way as to render her militarily impotent for years to come has made it necessary to change in a very fundamental way the economic structure of Japan. This affects the relations of management and labor, the basic structure of industry, the organization of foreign trade, the accumulation of capital, and many other aspects of her economy.

The problem of re-creating and developing a national industrial structure which cannot be quickly converted to war production and yet one which is capable of increasing the production of the things the people need to attain a better level of living at home and to be able to export large quantities of many types of goods, is new in human experience. This effort is certain to involve much trial and error and, therefore, to run into many blind alleys in getting Japan again on a sound economic footing.

THE DEMOGRAPHIC SITUATION

Since Japan's ability to care for her present population, even at her existing level of living, is highly questionable, there can be no doubt that any considerable increase in numbers will add greatly to her future difficulties. It is, therefore, a matter of much importance to evaluate as carefully as possible the probable movements of her birth rates and death rates during the next few years. Hence, in spite of the likelihood that I shall make errors of considerable size, I will state my belief regarding the probable course of Japanese birth rates and death rates during the coming decade.

The Movement of the Birth Rate. The birth rate of Japan in consequence of the repatriation of her soldiers, and to a lesser extent of Japanese civilians living abroad, moved to a high level by 1947 (somewhat over 34 per 1,000) and fell off only a little during 1948 (about 33.8 per 1,000). It is almost certain to fall off considerably more in the next three or four years. Thereafter it is likely to decline more slowly for some years *unless* positive measures are undertaken which will *effectively* hasten its reduction. Since there is no precedent in human experience to indicate how rapidly an active campaign to reduce the size of the family can be expected to show results in a country in Japan's situation, one can only guess at what the results of such an effort might be. It is the writer's opinion that the normal spread of the practice of family limitation can be greatly hastened by active effort to this end, that the Japanese people are ready to move rapidly in this direction, and that they have a health organization which, if adequately supported, is quite able to render assistance to millions of couples in limiting their families once the Japanese people are convinced of the desirability of smaller families. But even so, we should not expect so rapid a decline in Japan's birth rate that her population will cease to grow at a fairly high rate by the end of the coming decade, provided her death rate can be kept at the present level. This is Japan's chief economic problem.

In 1948 the birth rate was approximately 33.8 per 1,000 of the population. Even if an organized effort were made to hasten its decline, it would be very surprising if it fell as much as 11 points—to 23 per 1,000—in the course of the next ten years. The writer knows of no precedent which would make it reasonable to assume such a decline under a *laissez-faire* policy. It is quite possible, however, that such a decline, or an even greater one, might take place if active efforts were made in this direction. But assuming that the birth rate were to decline 11 points in ten years (the death rate remaining stationary), the population will almost certainly have grown to between 93 and 94 million

by 1960 and would still be increasing by about 1.0 million per year at that time.

The Movement of the Death Rate. The death rate in Japan had been declining slowly for some years before 1935, but remained relatively stable during the years 1935-40 when it averaged about 17 per 1,000. Since the war the success in reducing the death rate has been remarkable. Credit for this must go largely to the Occupation authorities, particularly to the Public Health and Welfare Section in SCAP. The death rate in 1948 was just under 12.0 per 1,000, a figure considerably lower than what would have been expected by a demographer studying mortality trends in Japan before the war and assuming that health work would proceed in much the same manner there as it did in the United States, 1900-1920. Moreover, if adequate subsistence is available, the death rate will probably decline even a little farther within the next two or three years.

Natural Increase. The difference between the birth rate and the death rate in 1948 was approximately 22.0 per 1,000—the highest rate ever attained in Japan. The natural increase was therefore about $1\frac{3}{4}$ million. The total population of Japan at the beginning of 1949 was probably slightly over 81 million—almost 83 million at the close of 1949. The rate of natural increase in Japan almost certainly will fall rather rapidly for two or three years, possibly beginning in 1950. But as already noted, Japan's population growth during the next few years will be large absolutely and may well be even larger than estimated above.

SOME ECONOMIC FACTORS

We now must consider matters which contain an even larger element of uncertainty than do the movements of births and deaths—foreign trade and improved productivity. The part which they will play in the economic life of Japan is so critical that they must be discussed here, although all too briefly.

Foreign Trade. In discussions of foreign trade as a basis for the support of population in Japan, many Americans and most Japa-

nese see no reason why Japan should not become the manufacturing center of twentieth-century Asia in much the same manner that the United Kingdom was the "workshop of the world" in the nineteenth century. Since I disagree with this view, it is incumbent upon me to set forth, briefly, the reasons which seem to cast serious doubt on the ability of Japan to contribute largely to the support of her growing population at an improving level of living by increasing foreign trade.

When the United Kingdom embarked on her great career as world manufacturer and trader she had no serious competitor as an exporter of manufactured goods. If one wanted to build railways, establish textile mills, buy cottons and woollens, use the raw materials of foreign lands, ship goods abroad, secure many types of insurance, transfer funds from country to country, or to carry on any other business transactions abroad, there was little choice but to buy the products of the United Kingdom, hire her expert services, and use her facilities for foreign trade. This condition lasted throughout much of the nineteenth century.

This high degree of monopoly in providing many types of manufactures and in carrying on trade made it possible for the United Kingdom to sell manufactured goods, colonial goods, and business services at a price very high as compared with the prices of the foodstuffs and raw materials which she needed for home consumption and which she handled as middleman. Because of the large profits thus obtained, there was a rapid accumulation of capital in the hands of the large manufacturers, traders, and bankers. A significant proportion of this capital was available for investment in foreign countries and was thus instrumental in creating a large demand for exports of machinery, railway equipment, and many other kinds of capital goods. All this was in addition to the exports of consumption goods such as textiles, hardware, etc. However, this high ratio of the price of manufactured goods and business services compared to that of food and raw materials could not be maintained indefinitely in the face of growing competition

for foreign trade, and at present all countries have to pay relatively more for food and raw materials than the United Kingdom did during most of the nineteenth century.

Today Japan must try to reestablish herself as a large exporter in a world market in which competition will be fiercer than ever before and in which a marked prejudice exists against many things Japanese. Japan's position as a foreign trader, therefore, is far more difficult and far more precarious than that of the United Kingdom, say from 1825 to 1900.

The real question, therefore, is this: Can Japan export enough goods of the kinds in whose production she can compete with other countries, chiefly because of her cheap labor, to provide herself with the food and raw materials she must import in order to live and, in the long run, to live better? Certainly, with our present information, this question cannot be answered categorically; but it may be helpful to evaluate as best we can the prospects for export of a few of the items which might enter largely into Japanese trade.

(a) Silk was the most important of all Japanese exports in prewar years. But because it is generally recognized that silk has lost its largest prewar market—silk for stockings and socks in the United States—and does not seem likely to regain this market, and since no other country or group of countries seems likely to take the place of the United States as importer, it must be ruled out as a factor of large importance in Japan's future foreign trade.

(b) Certain types of ceramics may again, as in the past, find markets in a number of countries. But these are, unfortunately, the luxury types of goods which are not used largely by the common people of Asia or of any country. Hence, they are not likely to be exported in quantities sufficient to buy any large amount of food and raw materials.

(c) Cotton and rayon yarns and goods may again become important. But in this field keen competition already exists, and as India and China develop their own cotton industries, Japan will have still keener competition in selling cheap textiles to Asia.

Both India and China raise their own cotton, whereas Japan must import all she uses. These countries have even cheaper labor than Japan. Furthermore, it is highly improbable that China, and quite possibly India also, for some years will have much in the way of raw materials they can trade for the considerable quantities of cottons and the other types of consumption goods which Japan might supply.

If Japan undertakes to export the better grades of cotton goods, rayons, and silks, then she faces keen competition from other experienced exporters and can hope only to share a limited market. The Asiatic market for all manner of luxury goods will remain small for a long time to come. Trade in rayon would seem to be more promising than cotton goods since Japan can provide most of the raw materials needed for its production. However, recent improvements in the processes of manufacturing rayon in the United States and European countries have not yet reached Japan. Since prewar Japanese rayons cannot compete with these newer and better fabrics in foreign markets, Japanese mills will need extensive reorganization and better control methods will have to be applied before they can seriously compete in the rayon market outside of Asia. No doubt Japan can regain much of her rayon trade, but it will take both time and the investment of considerable capital.

(d) Many types of goods such as light hardware, bicycles, rubber goods, toys, lacquer, and many other articles requiring a high proportion of hand labor can be exported by Japan, but the very enumeration of these goods raises doubts whether the amounts exported will be sufficient in the near future to enable Japan to buy any large amounts of food and raw materials with the proceeds of such trade.

(e) Machinery is another line of products for export on which the Japanese appear to be counting heavily. In this connection it must not be forgotten that if the countries of Asia do reach the point, within a decade or two, where they can buy relatively large quantities of capital goods and can build railways, ships, and new factories, it

will only be because they have been able to borrow heavily from abroad. It does not appear probable that they can produce enough raw materials or luxury goods to pay for any considerable amounts of capital goods. There is only one large source of capital in sight at present—the United States. If we make large loans to Japan, or India, or China, or the Philippines, or to any other country, will we permit the borrowers to buy capital goods wherever they wish? Personally, I doubt it. The same self-interest will undoubtedly motivate other lenders: all lenders will demand that the loans they make be spent largely on goods produced in their own countries. It has always been so, and there is no good reason to expect any sudden and significant change in this attitude.

(f) Finally, we should not overlook the fact that the strong trend towards autarchy, which set in during the interwar period, shows no signs of having abated. Everywhere, industrially backward countries are making plans to industrialize as rapidly as possible so that they will not be dependent on the vagaries of foreign trade for the manufactured goods they need. This movement will certainly make the economic life of the "workshop" nation steadily more precarious. More and more the economy of such a nation becomes the prey of every political shift as well as every economic shift which takes place in the world. Thus even if Japan were for a time to achieve a foreign trade large enough to enable her to buy her needed food and raw materials, it is by no means certain that she could long continue to do so.

Although the above considerations do not prove that Japan cannot export enough goods to buy food and raw materials for a growing population, they nevertheless are of such weight that they throw the burden of proof on those who assume that this can be done.

THE CRITICAL RELATION OF POPULATION TO RESOURCES

Since the support of a population of any given size depends ultimately, as noted

above, on the resources available to it, and since it is generally agreed that Japan's unused resources, both agricultural (including forests and fisheries) and mineral, are meager and that even full development of water power will not provide an abundance of cheap power, it is essential to discuss still other ways in which the relation of population to resources may be changed.

(1) A general improvement in technology, *i.e.*, increased efficiency in production, is certainly of great importance in this connection, since it is equivalent to an increase in resources. Through increased efficiency raw materials which were economically unusable under older techniques may become usable and thus the production of standard types of goods may be cheapened and that of new types may be made possible.

Policies intended to increase the efficiency of production are not generally thought of as population policies, and are seldom adopted with the deliberate intent of affecting the relation between resources and population; but, in fact, they often do have significant effects on population growth and hence change the relations between numbers of people and the resources available for their use. In actual practice, increasing production is almost certain to encourage population growth among all those peoples whose birth rate is not under almost complete control and whose death rate is still fairly high, because the first successes of such a policy (increasing production) generally lead to a reduction in the death rate. In Japan, however, the reduction of the death rate since the Occupation has been so great that only a small and slow decline can be expected in the future. The future growth of Japan's population, therefore, will depend largely on the rapidity with which the birth rate declines, assuming no rise in the death rate. Our experience in the West indicates that a decline in the birth rate is closely associated with the growth of the desire to live better and to give children better opportunities. Until a people becomes aware of the possibility of family limitation and actually begins to reduce its birth rate, any increase in productivity is largely absorbed in sup-

porting more people rather than in supporting a given population at a higher level. In this way what appears to be a *laissez-faire* policy as regards population growth often becomes, in effect, a policy for increasing population. This would not be the case, however, where the level of living was already relatively high and the birth rate was largely controlled by the level of living considered desirable.

(2) Resources may also be increased by the acquirement of new lands. In the world today this almost certainly means war, and probably World War. This is a situation everyone hopes can be avoided. But we should not close our eyes to the fact that the scarcity of resources has been used and probably will again be used by political and military leaders of expanding populations as a potent argument for aggression. It is true that aggression did not pay off in the recent war, but it has paid off frequently enough in the past and it may again be tried. Certainly the more aware a people is of its relative poverty in resources, the easier it will be to arouse support for aggression.

(3) The critical relation between population and resources might be alleviated by large—very large—emigration. This could happen if more people were moved out of a country than were added concomitantly to its population by the excess of births over deaths or by immigration. Emigration, however, generally encourages population growth. Obviously in a large population like that of Japan with a present increase of over a million and one-half annually, emigration must take place on a colossal scale for a number of years in order merely to maintain population at a stationary level. Actually there have been very few cases in modern times in which emigration seems to have provided the country of origin with any perceptible improvement in the level of living; and even where this seems to have happened, it *cannot* be proved.

In the country of destination the immigrants generally manifest the same or even a higher birth rate than at home. Since economic conditions are generally easier in the new country—such a belief, at least, being the chief reason for emigration—the

death rate is reduced and population grows more rapidly than in the home country. This does not immediately become a serious matter in most areas of immigration because of their relative abundance of resources; but it could soon become serious if such a movement were to take place on a large scale, e.g., a movement of millions of Indians to Madagascar or the East Coast of Africa, of great numbers of Japanese to Borneo, or of Chinese to New Guinea.

POPULATION POLICY

Thus increased productivity and foreign trade, seizure of resources, and emigration, the three most commonly advocated means of caring for increased numbers, are quite likely to encourage population growth for several years, perhaps for several decades, under present conditions in Japan. Their net effect over several years may be to prolong, possibly even to intensify, the very hardships they were expected to relieve. This is particularly likely to be the case where population pressure is already great, where the numbers involved are large, and where the level of living is relatively low as in Japan, China, and India.

Slower growth of population, no growth, or even a decline in numbers, whichever may be the end desired, will all affect more or less favorably the relation of population to resources. Slower growth, or even a decrease, may be brought about in two ways: (1) by allowing the death rate to rise until it equals or exceeds the birth rate, and (2) by a reduction in the birth rate. The writer knows of no one today who advocates raising of the death rate as a means of population control. It may well come to pass, however, that the failure to reduce the birth rate where population pressure is already considerable will automatically lead to an increase in the death rate. From time immemorial nature has kept man's numbers within the limits of his subsistence by high death rates, and it is still the effective means in a large part of the world's population.

In the light of the difficulties Japan faces in raising per capita production, it seems to the writer that the most reasonable policy

to advocate in overpopulated lands such as Japan is one calculated to reduce the birth rate until the numbers of the population concerned become manageable within the limits of the resources available to them.

This brief exposition of how different policies are likely to affect population growth is offered in support of the conclusion that Japan's best efforts to raise production, to increase foreign trade, and to encourage emigration will not of themselves solve her problems of overpopulation. Population pressure is already so great and numbers are increasing so fast that most or all of the increase in production is likely to be absorbed for some time to come merely in the support of more people. It becomes necessary, therefore, to plan for the reduction of the birth rate to a point where there will be a natural decrease—more deaths than births—if there is to be any substantial improvement in Japanese living conditions.

Many people may ask why it is a concern of the United States (or the world) that population pressure in Japan should be reduced; or, to put it in another form, why the level of living in Japan should be raised. There are two answers to this question. One arises from the interest and responsibility created by our defeat and subsequent occupation of Japan and our desire to insure that she will not again engage in aggressive war. If Japan can soon become self-sufficient without means for rearmament, this end is served. There is, however, no reasonable doubt in the mind of anyone who has given it thought that this immediate aim would be more surely attained if Japan's population were at once to cease to grow. With an annual growth which will probably average a million and one-quarter per year for the next eight or ten years, this immediate aim is jeopardized. That, in a nutshell, is the burden of the preceding argument.

A second answer, looking to a longer future, is that the pressure of population when strongly felt becomes a powerful motive for political and economic expansion by military means and thus makes for aggressive war. Reducing the pressure of population in every land to a point where

this pressure cannot be used by expansionists or fanatics as a talking point to whip up warlike sentiment is a wider aspect of Japan's problem which concerns all of us. As long as there is a basis for a growing feeling within a nation that it is being made to suffer unjust hardships as compared with more fortunate peoples, it will not be difficult to arouse a strong sentiment favoring aggressive action.

Encouraging the reduction of the birth rate is the only policy which in the long run can be classed as a *cure* for population pressure. This does not mean, however, that increase in production, expansion of foreign trade, and larger emigration should not be encouraged in all feasible ways. It merely means that as long as there is a relatively high birth rate, population growth in Japan and similarly situated countries will keep pace with or exceed the increase in resources and production. Hence, the basic ratio of people to production either is not fundamentally altered or may even be worsened despite a fairly large increase in total production. This situation is almost certain to continue to exist in densely settled areas until the rate of population increase becomes slower than increase in production.

Of course, one cannot now *prove* that the future economic situation in any country will remain essentially unchanged or deteriorate because per capita production will be stationary or will decline. All that one can do is to study the facts as carefully as possible, and then apply common sense in trying to envisage future developments. It is true that in the West since 1800 increased production and a better level of living have accompanied large population increase, but for almost a century, even in Western countries having large resources, the restriction of the size of the family has contributed largely to the reduction of the death rate and the rise in the levels of living.

In the West the pressure of population on resources has always been light in comparison with Japan and other parts of South and East Asia. There has never been any serious doubt until quite recently that we in the West could simultaneously raise the

level of living and provide for a large increase in numbers. In Japan conditions are quite different and the difficulties of caring for her population seem to the writer to be so well grounded in fact as to amount almost to certainty that population increase not only now stands in the way of improvement in the level of living, but may well lead to a deterioration in this level even if outside help continues to flow in as large a stream as it has since the Occupation began. It is highly distressing to conclude after careful study of the facts that the outlook for improvement in the level of living in Japan is very gloomy because there are too many children. But it would be no kindness to the Japanese, or the world, to gloss over the facts or to interpret them more favorably than the light of experience demands. It is not surprising that the Japanese Government, until a few months ago, hesitated to give positive encouragement to birth control. It has been easier to do nothing, thus tacitly sanctioning the various economic and social policies already in operation, even though some of them actually do encourage further population increase and make decent living more precarious, than to tell the people to raise smaller families. But it is also a heavy responsibility to leave matters as they are when a negative policy seems very likely, in the light of known facts, to increase the economic hardship of the population in the not distant future.

The writer wishes again to repeat his conviction that continuation of a *laissez-faire* attitude while population continues to grow rapidly will probably engender an increasing feeling of pressure of population. Under these circumstances a resurgence of expansionism in Japan is not only possible but probable—not tomorrow, not in five years, but perhaps in a generation, when, with a rehabilitated industry, the inability to maintain a decent level of living with the resources available becomes again clearly manifest to the people. When people are hungry, when they see no hope of better days ahead, and when they have some means to make war, it is easy for demagogues and jingoes to raise hopes

regarding the advantages to be derived from conquest. It is thus that population pressure contributes to the heightening of international tension and may be considered a potent cause of war.

If the general view of the significance of Japan's population situation expressed above is justified, the immediate practical problem becomes one of convincing the Japanese people as a whole that only through the control of population can they hope to maintain their present level of living to say nothing of raising it. Only through accurate knowledge and free discussion, as provided for in the new Japanese Constitution, can democratic decision be arrived at in this very important matter. It is probable, however, that with the Japanese even more than with those peoples who have had longer experience with the operation of democracy, decisive leadership is of the utmost importance in getting reasonably quick action on any urgent matter. For this reason all possible help to Japanese leaders in educating the people to the need of population control, and in providing the knowledge essential to this control, seems to me imperative. This does not mean that family limitation should be enforced upon unwilling people, even if this were possible. Sympathetic assistance can be given without the exercise of either physical or moral compulsion.

Finally, the Japanese must be made to realize that it is highly unlikely that the people of the United States will continue indefinitely to provide them with the means of livelihood to make up the difference between what they are producing and what they are consuming, as has been happening since 1945, if the Japanese themselves show no interest in adapting their numbers to their resources. Besides, any indication that population increase is being encouraged by groups which are interested in political expansion at some future time will certainly result in the quick cessation of aid, will postpone the time when Japan will be free of the Occupation, and will also tend to make outside control more severe in future years.

THE OUTLOOK FOR THE CONTROL OF HUMAN FERTILITY IN JAPAN*

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DURING the eight years from 1940 to 1947, inclusive, in spite of the war, the population of Japan as now constituted increased by about 8,000,000 (from 71,100,000 to 79,100,00). About 6,900,000 was due to an excess of births over deaths and 1,100,000 to net immigration (mostly returning soldiers and net repatriates).¹ During the two years 1948 and 1949 the increase amounted to about 4,000,000, most of which came from an excess of births over deaths. By the end of 1949 the total number of persons had almost reached the 83,000,000 mark. When it is remembered that the land area of Japan is somewhat smaller than that of California, that only about one-sixth to one-fifth of this area is sufficiently level for farming, and that mineral deposits (except coal, zinc, and sulphur) are relatively unimportant, it is not surprising that many of the Japanese people, and many non-Japanese as well, are concerned regarding the present ratio of the population to its

means of support, and the future trend of this ratio. In an accompanying article Thompson has discussed in detail the prospects for enlarging the output of goods and services in the future, and for retarding population growth by bringing about large scale emigration. The following discussion will deal with conditions influencing the other main way of lessening the increase in numbers (and perhaps eventually of reducing them), namely, lowering the birth rate.

THE BIRTH RATE IN RECENT YEARS

Little direct information is available regarding fertility trends and differentials prior to the Meiji Restoration in 1868, but there are reasons for believing that for several centuries the birth rate was high and fluctuated within rather narrow limits. The official statistics which begin during the 1870's show a gradual increase in the crude birth rate from 25 per 1,000 during 1875-79 to 35 during 1920-24,² but there is evidence indicating that fertility declined during this period and that the reported rise of the rate was due to the improvement of the basic statistics.

The much more accurate information for years since 1920 shows beyond question that fertility followed a gradual downward trend from 1920 to 1937, and dropped sharply from 1937 to 1938.³ Most of the decrease from 1937 to 1938 was regained during 1940 and 1941, but another decline during the war reduced the crude rate to

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† The writer was in Japan from March 22 to June 17, 1949, as a visiting expert assigned to the Natural Resources Section, GHQ, SCAP. Since returning from Japan he has received very valuable current material from Dr. O. R. McCoy, the Rockefeller Foundation's representative in Japan, Dr. John W. Bennett, CIE, GHQ, Dr. D. B. Luten, NRS, GHQ, and Miss Margaret Stone, ESS, GHQ. For this assistance he is deeply grateful. The opinions in this article are the writer's and may or may not agree with official opinions or policies.

¹ From January 1940 through September 1945 net emigration amounted to 3,500,000, but from October 1945 through December 1947 net immigration amounted to 4,600,000. These and the text figures are based on *Annual Changes in Population of Japan Proper, 1 October 1920-1 October 1947*, GHQ, SCAP, Economic and Scientific Section, July 1948. Men in the armed forces overseas are excluded from the 1940 population.

² *Jinko Tokei Soran, Population Statistics Summary*, Division of Population Problems, Ministry of Public Health, September 1943, pp. 346-347.

³ The crude birth rate averaged 35.7 per 1,000 persons during 1920-21, 30.4 during 1936-37, and 26.8 during 1938-39, the latter rate being one-fourth below that for 1920-21.

23.2 in 1945, the lowest on record. A slight postwar rise occurred in 1946, followed by a jump to 34.5 in 1947, the highest rate since 1926. Rates for 1948 and 1949 have been only a little lower.⁴

Opinions differ widely as to the significance of the high fertility during 1947-49. Some interpret it as meaning that the downward trend which lasted from 1920 (or earlier) until 1939 has been checked, and that a high level will be maintained for many years to come. Others believe that the birth rates of 1947-49 are abnormally (and only temporarily) high because of conditions peculiar to the postwar period, especially demobilization, repatriation, and the return of workers from war industry centers.⁵ The writer agrees with the latter, believing that the situation in Japan resembles that in the United States.⁶

OFFICIAL AND POPULAR ATTITUDES TOWARD POPULATION SIZE AND THE CONTROL OF FERTILITY

There is evidence that concern regarding the size of the population has been the rule rather than the exception among the Japanese during the last several centuries and that in the Tokugawa era abortion and infanticide were acceptable and widely utilized ways for keeping the population relatively stationary. After the Meiji Restoration industrialization lessened the need for population control for several decades, and helped to bring about important changes in attitudes toward this and other matters. Abortion and infanticide came to be frowned

upon, and the rapid growth of population to be considered desirable, for it helped to make Japan one of the Great Powers, and could be used to justify the policy of territorial expansion which led to the control of Formosa, Korea, and Manchukuo.⁷ Nevertheless, there is general agreement that during this period the practice of contraception became well established among certain groups. Little, if any, direct information is available as to the proportion of couples using contraceptives or the effectiveness of these attempts at controlling family size prior to 1947, but there are reasons for believing that an increase in the use of preventive methods played an important role in causing the decrease in the birth rate which occurred from 1920 to 1938.

Although a rapidly growing population was wanted by many of the Japanese leaders, little was done officially to encourage large families or discourage contraception until 1939. It is true that Margaret Sanger was not allowed to discuss birth control at public meetings while she was in Japan, but certain contraceptive materials and supplies were displayed prominently in drug stores during the 1920's and early 1930's. By 1939, however, the prolonged decline of fertility and the low rates which had been reached led to various efforts to reverse the trend. In addition to a widespread propaganda campaign there were several specific programs. Among other things, (a) furloughs were given soldiers with the suggestion that, if single, they marry and start a family, or if already married, that they have another child; (b) inductees were given advance notice of the date when they would be called so they could start or add to their families; and (c) a determined attempt was made to prohibit "unnatural" abortions. These and the other measures are believed by Japanese demographers to have had an important influence in raising the crude birth rate from 26.6 in 1939 to 31.1 in 1941, and in limiting the decline during the war years.

Events which resulted from military defeat provided the basis for a radical change

⁴ Rates for 1944 to 1946 are from the Statistical Office of the United Nations, *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics*, Volume III, No. 5, Lake Success, New York, May 1949.

Rates for other years since 1920 are from the Department of Health and Welfare, "Outline of Recent Vital Statistics," *Health Statistics Special Reports*, D. No. 1, Tokyo, Japan, May 17, 1949, and later mimeographed reports.

⁵ These ideas are expressed by S. Morifuku of the Health Statistics Department, Welfare Ministry, in a paper "The Future Trend of Birth Rate Observed from the Births by Age of Mother."

⁶ For a discussion of the significance of the high postwar birth rate in the United States see P. K. Whelpton, "Cohort Analysis of Fertility," *American Sociological Review*, 14 (December 1949), 735-749.

⁷ For a detailed discussion of background material see the accompanying article by John C. Pelzel.

in opinion regarding population size and control. The loss of prewar territories—Formosa, Korea, and Manchukuo—and the great destruction caused by bombing reduced substantially the capacity of the national economy to support people. Moreover, the return of soldiers, the repatriation of civilians, the large reduction in the death rate, and the rapid rise in the birth rate increased by several millions the number of persons to be supported. The shortage of consumer goods—especially that of food—led increasing numbers of Japanese to wonder how a rapidly growing population could be supported adequately, and stimulated discussion of the problem by various groups.

The amount of space given to the population situation in Japanese newspapers and periodicals reached a peak during the first half of 1949 and decreased substantially during the last half. Most of the writers stressed or took for granted the difficulty of supporting the current population at current living levels, to say nothing of providing for the expected increase in population or raising living levels. Many dealt with the pros and cons of the three procedures that could help to improve the situation, namely, increasing production and exports, large scale emigration, and lowering the number of children per couple. Numerous articles regarding specific contraceptive methods were published, and one of the leading women's magazines—*Fujokai*—devoted almost all of one issue to such material. Because Japanese mores place fewer restrictions on discussions of sex questions, some of these articles gave detailed information of a type that probably would be limited to medical publications in the United States.

It appeared to the writer that in the majority of cases there was recognition of the great difficulty of achieving a sufficient increase in production and exports to have much effect on the population problem, and acceptance of the fact that large scale emigration (although greatly desired) was impossible for at least several years to come.*

*These opinions were based on complete and summarized translations made by ATIS and other

The idea of fewer children per couple seemed to have the most support, though it was strongly opposed by a few writers for moral, religious, or nationalistic reasons. Moreover, some of the advocates of contraception admitted that even if effective practices should spread rapidly among married couples, the population would still increase by several millions during the next few years.

OPINION POLLS

In order to obtain more information regarding public opinion on the population problem two surveys were conducted in the spring of 1949, one in April by the Jiji News Agency Public Opinion Room and the other in May by the Asahi Newspaper Public Opinion Room. In both cases the sampling plan was designed to provide information on a national basis.⁹

Answers to questions regarding the population of Japan in 1949 and the population to be expected in 1969 if the past trend of growth continues indicate that a large majority of the Jiji respondents were fairly well informed on these matters. Most of the Jiji and Asahi respondents thought the current population exceeded the "ideal" number. In order "to cope with the situation," 41 per cent of the Asahi respondents approved limiting births, 36 per cent approved emigration, and 17 per cent approved increasing production, foreign trade, etc.¹⁰

In each survey three children were mentioned most frequently as the "ideal" num-

branches of SCAP, on items in the *Nippon Times*, and on conversations with Japanese and Americans who were interested in these matters.

⁹In the Jiji survey questions were asked of 7,836 persons, who were selected from voters' lists for 175 city wards, 136 towns, and 234 villages. In the Asahi survey 3,050 persons were interviewed, selected from voters' lists for 90 cities, 72 towns, and 88 villages. Competent statisticians who were not connected with either survey but who studied the sampling plans reported that they were sound.

¹⁰The writer was told that some of the interviewers thought that the procedure followed with this and certain other questions tended to exaggerate the replies favoring family limitation.

Miscellaneous suggestions were made by 1 per cent of the respondents, and none at all by 9 per cent. Several made more than one suggestion.

ber for a married couple, followed by four, five, and two. Very few people thought it desirable for a couple to be childless, or to have one, or six or more children. The average number thought "ideal" by the Jiji respondents is 3.5 children per couple and by the Asahi respondents 3.7. These are well below the average number of children born to married couples with the wife living to age 45 (which at present probably exceeds 6), but are somewhat above the number that would be required to maintain a stationary population in the future.¹¹ Moreover, they exceed the "ideal" number according to an old Japanese saying which was mentioned frequently to the writer, namely, three—a girl and two boys. (The girl should come first so she can help take care of the boys!) Relatively more of the older than of the younger people thought four or more children most desirable, and relatively fewer of the former mentioned two.

In the Asahi survey each married person living with the spouse was asked, "Do you or do you not feel the necessity of practicing contraception at present?"¹² Affirmative answers were given by 33 per cent of the respondents, negative by 59 per cent, and noncommittal by 8 per cent.¹³ In the Jiji survey each respondent was asked, "In general, are you in favor of, or against, practicing birth control?" Sixty-eight per cent of the replies were favorable; 14 per cent, opposed; and 18 per cent, noncommittal. Unfortunately, the term "sanji chosetsu" used in this survey (and translated here as "birth control") means "contraception" to some Japanese but "abortion" to others. Although it is hard to evaluate the extent to which

the replies represent attitudes toward one or the other of these methods of control, a substantial majority appears to favor the idea of family limitation.

In both surveys the respondents approving contraception or birth control were asked to give reasons for their attitudes. In the Jiji survey economic and living problems were mentioned as the main reason by 54 per cent, "the population problem" by 24 per cent, eugenic considerations by 16 per cent,¹⁴ and matters related to women's rights and health by 6 per cent. Among the persons in the Asahi survey who said they "felt the necessity of practicing contraception" 83 per cent mentioned economic reasons (including "the population problem") as influencing their opinion, 27 per cent maternal health reasons, and 9 per cent other reasons. Several respondents mentioned more than one reason. Although differences in the classification of replies prevent exact comparisons of the Jiji and Asahi results, it appears that in both cases economic reasons exerted more influence than all others combined.

The small minority (14 per cent) of the respondents in the Jiji survey who said they were opposed to practicing birth control were asked to give the reasons for this attitude. Of those who did so the largest number (41 per cent) mentioned ideological or religious reasons (e.g., birth control is contrary to divine order or natural law). Second in importance (31 per cent) were social or national reasons (e.g., the need for manpower). Moral reasons (e.g., the fear of increasing premarital sex relations) were stated by 19 per cent, and health reasons (e.g., birth control—especially abortion—is injurious), by 9 per cent.

In both surveys the proportion of people who said they actually were practicing birth control (or contraception) was much smaller than the proportion favoring it. In the Jiji survey only 13 per cent of the married respondents with spouse present said they had ever practiced birth control, and in the Asahi

¹¹ 2.79 births per married woman living to age 45 would maintain a stationary population with the age specific death rates and marital distribution of 1948.

¹² The Japanese term "hinin" was used in the survey and is translated here as "contraception." It is a colloquial term which is usually understood to mean the use of contraceptive devices, but sometimes to mean sterilization.

¹³ As will be shown later the number of respondents that "felt the necessity of practicing contraception" is much larger than the number that actually used contraceptives.

¹⁴ "Eugenic considerations" includes the idea that parents in the lower income groups can care for a small number of children better than for a large number.

survey only 9 per cent of such respondents stated that they had actually used contraceptives. Most of the Jiji respondents who favored birth control but did not practice it appeared to do so for two reasons—ignorance and a desire for more children. Forty-one per cent said that they did not know of a good method to use, and 40 per cent that they did not have as yet as many children as they wanted. In general the latter were the younger couples who had been married fewer years, of whom an important proportion may resort to contraception in the future. Sterility was given by 4 per cent of the couples as the explanation for not practicing contraception; miscellaneous reasons were given by 15 per cent.

No information regarding "unnatural" abortion as a means of controlling family size was gathered in the Asahi or Jiji surveys. Judging from the opinions of physicians, midwives, and public health workers, however, there have been several hundred thousand such abortions annually since the war. In fact, the widespread belief that such abortions were so numerous, that "black market" prices usually were being charged, and that abortions were being performed all too frequently under conditions which resulted in permanently undermining the health of the women (or even in causing death), undoubtedly played an important part in securing the passage of the 1948 law providing for eugenic abortion, and its liberalization in the spring of 1949.

ATTITUDES OF RELIGIOUS LEADERS TOWARD CONTRACEPTION

The two important religious groups in Japan are the Buddhists with about 40,000,000 members and the Sektarian Shintoists with about 11,000,000 members. The priests of neither group as a whole have taken an official position for or against the limitation of family size by means of contraception, nor appear likely to do so in the future. The strongest support of which the writer has heard is that of the priests connected with one of the Shinto Shrines in Tokyo. As part of a program designed to encourage couples to come to their Shrine

for the marriage ceremony they had arranged with a Japanese woman physician for giving premarital instruction on contraception to brides who wished it, and with a male physician for similar instruction to grooms. In contrast, the priests of the largest Shinto sect (the Tenri) have taken a position like that of the Catholic hierarchy.

Relatively few of the Japanese are Christians, the number of Protestants being estimated as around 220,000 and that of Catholics as around 130,000. The attitudes toward birth control expressed by leaders of each group are in line with what would be expected from experience in the United States.

RECENT LEGISLATION REGARDING CONTRACEPTION AND FERTILITY

Since the end of the war two laws which may have a very important effect on the future trend of the birth rate have been written by the Japanese Diet. One is the Pharmaceutical Affairs Law which was passed in April 1948, and which became effective in the latter part of April 1949. This law repealed that part of a former law which prohibited the marketing of drugs or compounds described as being useful for the prevention of conception,¹⁵ and provided that these preparations are to be treated like any other drugs. If they meet the requirements prescribed by a subcommittee of the Pharmaceutical Affairs Bureau of the Ministry of Welfare, they may be advertised and sold as contraceptives.

Within a month of the date when the new law became effective, the Board's subcommittee on contraceptives had approved 27 preparations and had received applications for 63 others.¹⁶ Five or six of the former

¹⁵ The previous law did not apply to condoms (perhaps in part because of their usefulness in attempts to control venereal disease), nor did it apply to diaphragms. Moreover, it had been evaded in part by labeling vaginal creams, jellies, and other related preparations as being useful for controlling venereal disease, with no reference to conception. Nevertheless, the law stopped the frank advertisement and display of these products, which undoubtedly restricted their use by making it more difficult for people to learn of their contraceptive qualities.

¹⁶ The 27 include 4 brands of vaginal tablet, 4 of

were being advertised widely, were selling at a rapidly rising rate, and were practically monopolizing the market. The writer was told by an official of the company manufacturing one of these products that factory sales in June 1949 were about 9 times as large as the average for June, July, and August of 1948. Another of the leading manufacturers reported that the May 1949 factory sales for its product were more than 40 times the average for June-August 1948.¹⁷ During more recent months the rate of increase appears to have decelerated rapidly. Manufacturer's sales of all chemical contraceptives August-October 1949 were about 50 per cent above the June-July average, which is a substantial gain but much smaller than those during preceding months. Furthermore, sales in September and October were slightly below the August figure.¹⁸

Inquiries made by the writer and others during May 1949 at a few drug stores in each of various cities and towns from Tokyo to Kushiro (in eastern Hokkaido) indicated that the retail sales of vaginal tablets, creams, jellies, and diaphragms was increasing substantially in the larger cities (and perhaps slightly in the more remote

jelly, 1 of cream, and 1 of suppository.

¹⁷ A general idea of the extent to which contraceptives were being produced may be obtained from the following figures. A report of the Ministry of Welfare states that manufacturers' sales of contraceptives in July 1949 amounted to 4,400,000 tablets and 7,000,000 grams of jelly or cream. During the first quarter of 1949 the amount of rubber allocated to producers of contraceptives was sufficient to make 60,000 diaphragms and 6,900,000 condoms monthly. If a tablet, a condom, and 3 grams of jelly or cream are considered as one contraception unit, the above mentioned quantities total approximately 14 million units monthly. (Diaphragms are not counted as units because they are usually used with cream or jelly.) It must be remembered, however, that an important proportion of condoms are used primarily for the prevention of venereal disease. The quantity of contraceptives imported is negligible.

¹⁸ Most of the increase from June-July to August-October occurred in vaginal tablets. Sales of these preparations increased slightly during the August-October period.

There are complaints that the chemical contraceptives are not effective, but no attempt has been made as yet to obtain reliable information regarding the ratio of satisfied to dissatisfied users.

rural villages), even though the law legalizing chemical contraceptives had been in effect less than two months. A tendency toward greater diffusion was suggested by the statements of several of the city druggists that the increase in demand was relatively larger among the so-called middle and lower class couples than among those of the upper class. Most of the women asking for a diaphragm had not been to a clinic or physician to ascertain the size they needed, so the druggist guessed the size on the basis of external appearance and the number of children borne. Whether this will lead to difficulty in using a diaphragm and to failure in preventing pregnancy with sufficient frequency to bring the method into disrepute remains to be seen.

The other law which may have a very important effect on the future trend of the birth rate is the Eugenic Protection Law, which was passed in September 1948, and amended in May 1949. Between January 1 and August 1, 1949, the Prefectural Eugenic Protection Committees established under the provisions of this law approved the sterilization of 37 men and 2,933 women, and the District Committees that reported regarding abortions approved 93,853—nearly all of those requested.¹⁹

Although the bulk of this Law relates to abortion and sterilization, the remainder is likely to have a greater impact on the birth rate in the future. Chapter IV provides that in at least one of the Health Centers of each prefecture there shall be established a "Eugenic Marriage Consultation Office" for "consultation on marriage affairs from the viewpoint of eugenic protection and simultaneously in attempting prevalence and elevation of necessary knowledge relating to inheritance and other eugenic protection as well as the propagation and guidance concerning the proper method of conception adjustment." Discussions which took place before the law and amendments were passed

¹⁹ The law does not require the reporting of the number of abortions approved. The District Committees of several prefectures made no report; the reports from several other prefectures were only partially complete.

indicate that the "eugenic" need for contraceptive information is to be interpreted broadly, from the standpoint of socio-economic as well as biological factors, and is to include, for example, the better rearing of children which is possible in a low income family if there are few children rather than many.

No Eugenic Marriage Consultation Office was opened prior to May 1949 largely because Article 13 of the "Enforcement Regulation of the Eugenic Protection Law"²⁰ required each office to have on a full-time basis not only "one or more physicians who are well acquainted with the matters pertaining to heredity and are competent enough to be consulted with about eugenic marriage," but also "one or more competent medical consultants for each of ophthalmology, psychopathy and internal medicine." These requirements were simplified greatly in a Ministry of Welfare Ordinance dated April 20, 1949; since then it has only been necessary to have "a physician capable enough to give advice concerning eugenic marriage and contraception." Nonetheless, the personnel problem remained serious, because relatively few doctors had been instructed regarding contraceptive methods while in medical school. To alleviate the situation the National Institute of Public Health gave in August a one-week training course which was attended by 50 medical officers from model health centers.²¹ It is expected that these doctors will be able to train other doctors in their prefectures.

The first Marriage Consultation Offices were opened during May and June; by August a total of 29 were in operation. The latest reports obtainable show that few people have as yet been asking for information regarding contraception. Thus, in the twenty Offices that reported concerning their activities during the month of August, a total of 211 consultations were held, of which only 89 were in regard to contraception.

²⁰ This was issued by the Ministry of Welfare on January 20, 1949.

²¹ There is at least one model health center in each of the 46 prefectures.

STATEMENTS BY THE PRIME MINISTER AND ORDERS OF THE CABINET

Recent statements by the Prime Minister and Orders of the Cabinet indicate the possibility that there will be adequate governmental support for a program designed to lower the birth rate. In a press conference held on April 15, 1949, Chief Cabinet Secretary Masuda quoted Prime Minister Yoshida as stressing "that Japan's population problem could not be solved through emigration under normal conditions and it was necessary for the people themselves fully to understand and practice the principles of birth control in order to surmount the stringent economic times."²² On the same day a Cabinet Order was issued establishing "a Population Problem Council in the Cabinet to make investigation and deliberation concerning the population problem of our country."²³

After deliberations over a period of several months the Council drafted a statement of recommendations for government action which it submitted to the Prime Minister on October 28:

In order to prevent a tremendous increase of population which will influence disadvantageously the economic rehabilitation and the improvement of public health in Japan and to realize a cultural and healthy life, the Council considers that it is essential to furnish information about contraception, to see that its practice is properly performed, and to guide people so that it may be diffused to every stratum of society, thus enabling every couple to control their size of family freely and voluntarily through the means of contraception.

To achieve this purpose the following points should be given due attention.

(1) Rapid adjustment and mobilization of all the health centers, eugenic marriage consultation offices and other agencies concerned, training of those individuals in charge of these agencies, and

²² *Nippon Times*, April 15, 1949.

²³ Its members, announced on June 12, were five university professors (one of whom is managing director of the Birth Control Propagation Association), one research economist, two directors of government bureaus, two religious leaders (one Protestant and one Catholic), one corporation official, one labor leader, and two directors of associations favoring emigration.

the teaching of population problems, family planning, eugenic protection and the methods of birth control in medical schools. These are necessary requirements.

(2) Special efforts must be made toward enlightenment of the social class in which the dissemination and practice of birth control are most difficult. Also it is desirable that positive measures, such as partial amendment of the Daily Life Security Law, should be made so that adequate drugs and devices are available free of charge to the people of this class.

(3) It is necessary to create an office which deals with the administrative aspects of population problem exclusively, and through its function to supervise the matters concerning family planning and eugenic protection throughout the country. In relation to this, it is hoped to strengthen and expand the activities of the Institute of Population Problem Research and the Institute of Public Health for the purpose of attaining over-all management of population administration.

(4) It is to be remembered that the dissemination of information about contraception and its practice should be done very carefully so that it may not produce any harmful effect on the preservation of public morals.

THE POLICY OF SUPREME COMMANDER ALLIED POWERS

A clue as to the policy of the Supreme Commander Allied Powers with regard to family limitation in Japan may be obtained from an official letter, printed in the *Nippon Times*, July 2, 1949 which began: "In order to prevent any misunderstanding and to eradicate any misconceptions, the Supreme Commander wishes it understood that he is not engaged in any study or consideration of the problem of Japanese population control. Such matter does not fall within the prescribed scope of the Occupation and decisions thereon rest entirely with the Japanese themselves. The statements by Dr. Thompson and others recently publicly expressed with reference to population control in Japan, reflect individual opinions alone and are not based upon authoritative consideration or views of the Occupation."²⁴

²⁴ The letter was a response to protests from the Allied Catholic Women's Club of Tokyo against statements made by persons temporarily associated with General Headquarters, SCAP, in Tokyo.

It is important to note, however, that the letter then points out that persons "are at full liberty to give public expression to their views, as no censorship of free discussion exists in Japan. Indeed it is by such democratic process of public debate that the general populace is alerted, enlightened and prepared. Birth control, with its social, economic and theological sides, is, in final analysis, for individual judgment and decision."

THE FUTURE TREND OF FERTILITY

Forecasting the future trend of the number of children in completed families in Japan is extremely hazardous, for recent developments can be interpreted in support of trends which differ widely.

At one extreme, it is entirely possible that the small family pattern will spread more rapidly, and the birth rate fall more sharply, in Japan during the next few years than has been the case previously in any nation.²⁵ Among the conditions favoring such developments are those discussed earlier, namely, (a) the widespread publicity given to the idea that Japan is overpopulated and that smaller families are desirable; (b) the freedom with which contraceptive methods have been and can be described in articles and movies; (c) the provision for the official approval or disapproval of contraceptive drugs by the Pharmaceutical Affairs Bureau; (d) the large amount of advertising of contraceptives which is being done, inspired by the profit motive; (e) the law requiring the establishment of a Marriage Consultation Office in each prefecture, and permitting one in each of the 700 Health Centers, and making the giving of contraceptive information a function of these offices; (f) the pronouncement in favor of smaller families made by the Prime Minister; and (g) the statement by the Cabinet Council on Population emphasizing the importance of family planning.

²⁵ A man holding an important position in the SCAP organization, and whose opinion is worthy of respect, said in June 1949 that the change will be so sudden and great as to make the crude birth rate of 1950 30 per cent below that of 1949!

It is quite certain that the advertising of contraceptives will continue on a large scale, because an increase in demand should mean larger profits for manufacturers and distributors. This should educate additional groups in the population regarding contraception, and increase the extent and effectiveness of efforts to that end. An official of one of the manufacturing companies informed the writer that such an advertising campaign alone would reach 80 per cent of the adult population by 1951 or 1952.

It is certain also that not only some of the national government leaders but some of the chiefs of prefectural health departments and directors of local health centers believe it important to reduce the rate of population increase by educating married couples regarding contraception. These local leaders will push the establishment of Marriage Consultation Offices and will use such media as posters, exhibits, and talks or educational movies at group meetings (labor unions, Parent Teacher Associations, women's clubs, etc.) to call attention widely to the services provided at the Offices. An excellent example of such activity was found in Hokkaido where the moving picture "Knowledge of Birth Control" was shown on a commercial basis in certain cities beginning in May 1949. Dr. Mutsuo Nishino, Chief of the Prefectural Health Department, arranged for a private preview at each of these cities in order to inform doctors, midwives, public health nurses, and leading laymen of the nature of the picture and the information presented. Each subsequent public performance was attended by a representative of the Prefectural Health Department or local Health Center. At the end of the presentation this person gave a brief talk regarding contraception, and suggested that couples wanting more information than that given briefly in the movie go to the Health Center to ask their questions. Such a program may not bring striking results in a few weeks or months, but a series of good publicity programs could do so in two or three years.

At the other extreme, it is entirely possible that the birth rate may decline little,

if any, once couples have had the births which were postponed by the war. Developments which can be used to support such a prediction include (a) the government's stringent financial situation, which may make it difficult to establish additional Marriage Consultation Offices; (b) the small number of persons requesting information regarding contraception at the Offices already established; (c) the decrease since last spring in the amount of space given to a discussion of the population problem and family limitation in newspapers and magazines; (d) the decline in the sale of contraceptives, reported to have begun in July; (e) the love of children, which is deeply ingrained among the Japanese people; and (f) the early age at which children begin to contribute to the family income.

Although the present Japanese government appears to be well established, it might be replaced at some future date by one far to the left or right, and opposed to the control of pregnancy.²⁶ Laws and regulations prohibiting contraception and favoring large families might then be enacted, and public opinion so changed that a high birth rate would be maintained. The success of the Communists in nearby China gives some support to this possibility, but events in Japan during the Occupation have the opposite effect.

The writer's personal opinion is that actual developments will be between these extremes, but closer to the former than the latter. If this opinion is correct, the birth rate will drop substantially within the next five to ten years not only because the influence of the backlog of marriages which accumulated during the war will have been exhausted, but also because the effective practice of contraception by married couples will be spreading rapidly.

²⁶ The extreme right opposes lowering the birth rate for much the same reasons as the former military group. The Communists have said that if capitalism is abolished there can be no such thing as overpopulation.

SOME SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF ATOMIC DISCOVERY

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I

ATOMIC SOCIOLOGY

IMPLICATIONS of atomic energy in the field of international relations were from the very beginning widely studied and discussed because of its negative, destructive force. There is, however, also a constructive and creative aspect to it—a discovery of a tremendous source of new energy which will affect our society and its future development not only in the realm of international relations but in the widest sense—in the whole area of social change, social structure, economics, government, leisure, education and others.

This large range of problems connected with discovery of atomic energy and its social consequences calls for the research, ideas and vision of social and political scientists. In fact, mankind, flabbergasted by the lack of social safeguards against such destructive power and the possibilities of new atomic discovery, looks to them for guidance, advice and proper solution. Already a number of challenging writings can be mentioned in this field.¹ The problem requires, however, a systematic, organized and integrated approach.

At the recent conventions of American sociologists, one could hardly find a general interest in this area despite the primary significance of these problems and the public interest. Still, hopefully enough, there is a group of sociologists already pioneering in this new territory; one might mention here the new studies of Hornell Hart²

¹To mention here as examples those of John Dewey, Bertrand Russell, Robert M. Hutchins, James T. Shotwell, W. F. Ogburn, H. D. Gideonse, R. B. Fosdick, and F. L. Schuman, and many others.

²I had the privilege of seeing the manuscript of Professor Hornell Hart's interesting book, *Social*

or the excellent studies in public opinion under the chairmanship of Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr.,³ and writings of Redfield, Ogburn and others.

The large area of problems connected with the discovery of atomic energy perhaps would justify the creation of an integrated social science sub-discipline with a subject matter of social and political adjustment to the atomic discovery and the discovery of new energies. As Atomic Sociology may sound too ponderous and pompous, we may call such a discipline Sociology of Basic Energies. Such a discipline may well involve a good knowledge of technology in addition to social science, since it may be hard otherwise to analyze the social consequences of technological changes. This would be only a further development of the study of social change.

INVENTION OF MACHINES AND DISCOVERY OF NEW BASIC ENERGIES

To start with, a distinction has to be made between inventions of new machines and tools and discoveries of new energies. The

Science and the Atomic Crisis, prepared for the Society of the Psychological Study of Social Issues. Professor Hart, in his paper, analyzes the accelerated rate of destructive power, and discusses it in connection with what he calls "destructive culture complexes." He calls for swift acceleration in social science to meet the challenge of technology and outlines a method for an "Action-Related Research Program." See also Hart, "Technological Acceleration and the Atomic Bomb," *American Sociological Review*, XI (June 1946), 277-293; "Social Science and the Atomic Crisis," *Journal of Social Issues* (April 1940), 4-29.

³"Public Reaction to the Atomic Bomb, A Nation-Wide Survey of Attitudes and Information," Cornell University (mimeographed edition). This survey was made in 1946 by a Cornell University group composed of H. Cantril, P. Hening, R. Likert and L. S. Cottrell, Jr.

influence of the latter on social change, while in many respects very similar, is much more basic. Discovery of fire, gunpowder, steam, electricity, and atomic fission as sources of energy were and are of primary historical significance, determining long trends of technical and social development. Atomic energy is probably not the last one. New kinds of energies may still be discovered, may be entirely different than the present ones, and may mark future historical epochs.

Students of social change, thus far, have made little or no clear distinction between various types of discoveries and inventions, especially between discovery of new basic energies and mechanical inventions as vehicles of social change. Even the materialistic deterministic school, whether in its classical approach of Marx and Engels or in its most orthodox, narrow approach as represented by Plechanov or Bucharin or in the liberal approach of Kautsky and Bauer, did not make clear distinction between change in energies and machines despite the fact that their basic tenet was the change of means of production. "Change of means of production," in fact, was taken by them as a concept without any further analysis of single elements of the mechanism of technological change. Similarly, William F. Ogburn, in his challenging *Social Change*, did not make a clear distinction between both.

Moreover, various studies in prediction of invention did not anticipate a basic change in energies or sources of energy. Again, this writer does not know any social prediction, out of numerous ones, in which atomic energy was foreseen. The splitting of the atom was anticipated by physicists, but sociologists, it seems to me, did not evaluate the social consequences. To take a few older and some more recent predictions, not one, definitely not one contains any hunch that new energies might be discovered. A physicist, Sir William Crookes, back in 1892⁴ foresaw rather correctly the future use of electricity. His prophecies were in a

⁴"Some Possibilities of Electricity" by Sir William Crookes in the *Fortnightly Review*, February 1, 1892.

high percentage of instances verified by later discoveries, but he did not mention any possibilities of basic change in sources of energy.

S. C. Gilfillan, a contemporary sociologist of inventions, in his numerous writings on social consequences of inventions as well as in his anticipations, challenging and often correct as these have been, did not predict, even up to the late 1930's, any change in sources of energies.⁵

It seems that the discovery of atomic energy came rather unexpectedly even to the leading students of social change. Their interest was centered more around modern machines and means of communication.

I am far from underestimating the latter. The same has to be said about the discovery of new elements, also new materials such as plastics. My suggestion is merely that students of social change might find it advisable to explore and differentiate various basic types of inventions and discoveries and study effects according to these types, to mention only three: energies, elements and materials, machine tools and transportation. New elements might sometimes create new types of energies, at other times new materials.

PROBLEMS

What is the subject matter of such a study? What are the problems we can anticipate as social consequences of the discovery of new energies? We shall mention a few:

1. Discovery of new energies will further limit manual effort in production. This will affect the distribution of labor, and in consequence affect the present social structure.
2. Change in class structure in Europe (because of its political pattern) may affect distribution of political power.

⁵Gilfillan does not mention possibilities of new sources of energy in his *Sociology of Inventions* nor in his interesting study, "Prediction of Inventions," published in *Technological Trends and National Policy*, June 1937, National Resources Committee, nor in his predictive articles in Professor Ogburn's journal, *Social Change*, where back in 1932 he was predicting new cities—"moneopolis"—an air-cooled, neon-lighted super Rockefeller Center. The atomic bomb made such plans obsolete.

3. Discovery of basic energies may lead to public ownership of basic energies. This trend has been noticed even in the United States in connection with the discovery of atomic energy. The only solution, the official one, thus far proposed is nationalization or internationalization of atomic energy, which in other words means socialization on a national or international level.⁶

This in turn leads to the emergence of economic power next to the executive, legislative, and judicial. Problems of checks and balances and problems of separation of power as necessary safeguards for a democratic system arise in a new specific situation—again a field of inquiry for a political scientist as well as for a political sociologist. The trend toward nationalization is general today in Europe, in many other fields of economics, but in the realm of atomic energy this tendency from the very beginning has been almost “monopolistic” and unique.

4. In the realm of social interaction, discovery of new destructive energies calls for a much greater organization of human cooperation in various forms and the elimination of conflicts. This is a matter of survival in the realm of international relations. However, Compton⁷ rightly points to the necessity of a broad cooperation as a consequence of the atomic discovery. It seems to me that Compton's conclusions are based on the atomic project experience in team work, since he writes that the “job was done well and fast” that way. He very rightly stresses: “In this will to cooperate we see the basic principle of a smoothly working society.”

Concentration of basic energies and their general use contribute also to a further division of labor in a functional sense. This

makes man more and more dependent on the work of others. We are already more dependent today for our water supply, gas, and electricity than we were fifty years ago. In this sense a peasant in the Balkans who is using a candle for his light, wood for heating, water from his well and a horse as traction power is much more independent. But functional interdependence of men creates the need for smooth cooperation, otherwise the whole economy and all the operations of society may collapse. Cheap inexpensive energies will still foster general use of energies, in a higher degree than today, and will make us functionally more interdependent than ever.

5. One of the factors which contributes to our inventiveness is our objectives, our value systems. We owe to them our dynamic, inventive approach to life. Tools have their social ends, and social ends are deeply rooted in the ideology of a society. Atomic energy might be used for one social end—total destruction of mankind; and for another—struggle against misery, hunger, disease. Energy as such is neutral; the ends are not neutral. We understand an invention only if we relate it to the society, to its idea-system, to values, to the social objectives inventions will serve. Discovery of atomic energy is one of the greatest challenges to our morals that mankind has ever faced. A dangerous dichotomy between our moral advance and technological progress may bring total destruction to mankind. We face today a challenge—a challenge of parallel advance—in the field of our morals and values as well as in the field of technology.⁸

Here is a number of problems—a broad,

⁶ John Dewey discusses similar problems in “Dualism and the Split of Atom; Science and Morals in Atomic Age,” *New Leader*, Nov. 17, 1946. Hornell Hart in his manuscript, “Social Science and the Atomic Crisis,” (quoted above) mentions the significance of an extensive study of problems of values in connection with the atomic discovery; Compton in the above quoted article stresses too a need for agreement on objectives as a matter of survival. This writer discussed these problems in “Problems of International Education,” *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, September 1946, and in a chapter “Parallelism and Progress” in *European Ideologies*, New York, 1948.

⁷ “Atomic Energy Act of 1946,” April 19 (legislative day March 5), 1946 (Calendar No. 1251, Report 1211, 79th Congress, Senate) submitted by Mr. McMahon. This document contains a wealth of information on atomic problems, especially useful for a social and political scientist. “A Report on the International Control of Atomic Energy,” C. I. Barnard, J. R. Oppenheimer, C. A. Thomas, H. A. Winne, D. E. Lilienthal, Chairman, Washington, D.C., Department of State, March 1946.

⁸ Arthur H. Compton, “Social Implications of Atomic Energy,” *Think*, May, 1946.

challenging, creative field for a social scientist—a field which simultaneously touches sociology, economics, political science, philosophy, and psychology, and calls for an integrated approach and scientific method.⁹

II

INTELLIGENTSIA, HYPOTHESIS AND METHOD

In the second part of this article we shall limit our discussion to one problem only. Space does not permit us to deal with more possible social effects of the productive use of atomic energy as a new source of basic energy on the future social structure.

Our hypothesis is: use of atomic energy will further eliminate physical effort. In consequence purely manual employment will grow slower, while intellectual labor will expand. As intellectual work increases, the new middle-class, or intelligentsia, which forms a class in Europe, will expand. Within the working class, effort of muscles and lungs will be increasingly replaced by effort of nerves and by mental work.

We shall further reduce our discussion to two main variables: (a) a changing social class—intelligentsia, and (b) new basic energies. Relations between both variables are of a functional character, though for purposes of discussion we shall translate the function into a causal order: energies as cause of the change in social structure; increase in numbers of intellectual workers, or

⁹One of the first, but preliminary, efforts to attack the problem on an integrated level was a special issue of *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, January 1947, devoted entirely to *Social Implications of Modern Science* with articles by Crane, Compton, Meyerhoff, Brodie, Briggs, Cushman, Bromage, Marquis, Ogburn, Stason, Thompson, Wirth and many others. Interestingly enough, a substantial part is devoted to the problems of values—written by Haber, Keniston and Schuster.

Three recent books plead strongly for a scientific approach to social problems connected with the atomic discovery as well as with implications of modern science: S. Chase, *The Proper Study of Mankind*, New York, 1948, G. A. Lundberg, *Can Science Save Us?*, New York, 1947, and A. H. Leighton, *Human Relations in a Changing World*, New York, 1949. All three books—challenging and brilliant—try to separate the “scientific” from the values and philosophical, moral ends of mankind.

the intelligentsia, as effects of technological change.

It is impossible, however, in any social study to eliminate all other factors which affect a given variable. The growth of an intelligentsia which can be observed since the end of the 19th Century is not a result of one cause alone. There are other causes which produce a change in social structure. It will be a mistake to disregard the others for the sake of a better, clearer presentation of a problem, for the sake of a more handsome theory. Therefore, in all our studies of social change as caused by the discovery of new energies, our variables should not be taken out of context and discussed entirely detached from social realities, but on the contrary, they should be discussed within the social context. Therefore, in this paper, too, the other significant causes as a part of general causal conditions resulting in social change will be mentioned. The two other factors (variables) in this study are: (1) expanding bureaucratic state, (2) mechanization.

THE EMERGING CLASS

As the working class matured in the 19th century, and the Eastern European peasantry emerged as a social force and political factor in the second half of that century, so it seems, the intelligentsia appeared as one of the significant classes of the 20th century. While the intelligentsia in the United States still forms a part of the middle class (though it became a functional group with considerable degree of cohesion in some areas), in Europe it appeared as a new social stratum or, as some prefer, a new social class.

The intelligentsia are a social stratum of technicians, bureaucrats, persons in the liberal professions, teachers, and students; in Europe, office workers also regard themselves as a part of it. This class or stratum embraces in Europe those whose work does not require a physical effort, but a mental one, or those who are on the margin of physical and mental work (operation of counting machines and the like).

The intelligentsia in Europe have a class-consciousness, or consciousness of a social

stratum, and a status concept of superiority to manual work. A distinction should be made between intellectuals and intelligentsia. "Intellectuals" comprise a kind of still "superior" sub-stratum, a sub-class of inventors, writers, artists, and creative intellectual workers, whereas the regular "intelligentsia" apply the ideas of the "intellectuals."¹⁰

WHY THE INTELLIGENTSIA IS GROWING AS A CLASS

Three main developments contribute to further the rise and expansion of the new class: (1) The expanding bureaucratic state, (2) mechanization and automatization of industry, (3) discovery of new energies.

1. New economic changes all over Europe—nationalization of industry as well as expansion of social insurances and various types of social services, and last, but not least, centralistic tendencies of the modern state—have contributed to a significant expansion of bureaucracy in various forms. Expansion of bureaucracy, so characteristic especially for the Soviet system, contributes to the growth of the intelligentsia. This class in the Soviet Union and its satellite countries is becoming the new privileged ruling group.

Karl Kautsky observed back in the eighties the growth of this class. According to him, in Germany the number of workers grew 62% in the years 1882-1885, while the new middle class—the intelligentsia—grew 118.9%.¹¹ Lewis Corey, who discovered a

similar phenomenon in the United States, in his admirable analysis concludes:¹² "While the working class multiplied six times (in the United States) from 1870 to 1940, the middle class as a whole multiplied eight times and the new middle class sixteen times." Corey's "new middle class" is exactly our intelligentsia—"technical, managerial, and clerical employees." He further enumerates teachers, designers, clergymen, and a number of professions.

Even in relation to the workers, the intelligentsia form a powerful group. For the sake of simplification, we shall compare only wage-earners and salaried employees in various countries, leaving out entirely employers and independent workers, though the intelligentsia include this class too. Our comparison (below) is based on figures of the International Labor Office. Our source, *Annuaire des Statistiques du Travail*, defines wage-earners in general as chiefly manual workers, while salaried employees include office and other non-manual workers and workers in positions of responsibility. It has to be taken into consideration that not all countries included the same occupational groups (see figures, footnote 13) and not all countries classified identically employees and wage-earners as well as managers. Nevertheless, a rough comparison shows that the United States in 1930 employed only a little over three times as many wage-earners (workers) as salaried employees—the intellectual workers, intelligentsia (public administration was not included in this statistic). Germany (1933) employed less than three times as many workers as intelligentsia (national defense and public administration included); similarly France (1931) and Bulgaria approximately four and a half times as many; Hungary almost eight times as many; Poland about six times as many. As was said, these numbers are approximate only; moreover, they do not include independent workers and professionals. Nevertheless, it seems to be clear that in the

¹⁰ Space does not permit us to discuss further problems of definition of the intelligentsia. Problems of intelligentsia and the new middle class have been discussed very widely, for example, by Robert Michels, Alexander Machajski, Max Nomad, Lewis Corey, the Lynd's, Mills, Parsons, MacIver (problems of class and structure), Blaha, Lederer, Laurat, Deman, A. Bingham and many others.

¹¹ Karl Kautsky, *Bernstein und das Sozialdemokratische Programm*, Stuttgart, 1899, p. 130. Even a much faster growth between 1882 and 1907 was noted by Kautsky. According to his *Proletarian Revolution and its Program* (Polish edition, Warsaw), the number of intellectual workers, intellectual employees in agriculture, industry and commerce grew in Germany from 307,000 to 1,291,000, more than four times, while the number of salaried workers grew from 10,705,000 to 17,836,000, only more than half, while the number of "economically inde-

pendent" remained almost the same.

¹² Lewis Corey, "The Middle Class," reprinted from the Spring issue 1945 of the *Antioch Review*, p. 4.

United States and in Europe the number of intellectual workers—intelligentsia—is roughly as high as from $1/3$ to $1/7$ of the total of physical workers, and it seems that agricultural countries, which is self-explanatory, have a much lower ratio of intelligentsia in relation to workers than industrial countries—a fact which still confirms our thesis.¹³ In some of the Western European countries, the intellectuals do not play exactly the same role. Still, new economic and social tendencies show a trend toward the expansion of the intelligentsia, while the old middle class, the "bourgeoisie," is decreasing.

2. The mechanization of industry shows a continuous trend to replace simple human movement by automats. This process of automatization eliminates large numbers of unskilled workers. We work less and less with our muscles and lungs but more with our brains and nerves. Comparison of road building somewhere in the West of the United States where the whole process is almost completely mechanized, or ditch digging for irrigation in the same region, with road building in the Balkans or irrigation in Mexico will give us an ample picture of present development. In the Balkans and in Mexico we will still see long rows of laborers, working in their sweat with heavy spades,

while in the United States those who operate various machines are closer to the brain and nerve work of an engineer than to the muscular work of a manual laborer. To produce such machines, however, we need a large group of trained, educated technicians; also to operate them, to sell them, to distribute them.

Mechanization no longer limits itself only to simple and purely physical operations. It has successfully invaded offices. Machines are taking over counting and filing, contributing further to the process of limitation of automatic efforts. In the offices, however, further mechanization contributes to employment, both of less skilled operators of various simpler machines and of the more highly skilled staff. The new Department of Agriculture's "Rapid Selector," conceived by Dr. Vannevar Bush, a filing machine combining electronic controls with microfilm, can serve here as an example of the revolution which is coming to the offices and which will affect the social composition of the office workers.¹⁴ New automatic computing machines seem to inaugurate a basic change in office work, eliminating what we may call automatic mental effort, such as counting and recording. Professor Louis Ridenour¹⁵ who calls these machines "mechanical brains," announces a second industrial revolution as the result of their introduction and describes them as "a new class of high speed, automatic, computing machines with rudimentary organs of memory, judgment and mathematical logic."

¹³ *Annuaire des Statistiques du Travail*, BIT, 1941, Montreal, 1942. Figures quoted below are extracted from tables on "Total and Gainfully Occupied Population." Because of lack of space we gave figures for only one country of agricultural character—Bulgaria.

Structure of the Gainfully Occupied Population

Country	Salaried Employees	Wage-Earners
U.S.A. (1930)*	7,949,455	28,269,128
Germany (1933—after Versailles)*	5,513,137	16,167,905
France (1931)*	3,024,885	9,143,545
Bulgaria (1934) ^b	103,779	474,718

* industrial ^b occupational group

Colin Clark, in his classic *Conditions of Economic Progress*, anticipates similarly expansion of employment in the intellectual field. His analysis of income distribution and social structure shows, too, that the economically advanced countries have a high proportion of population engaged in what he calls tertiary industries (commerce, services, and the like), which means in turn a high proportion of what we call "intelligentsia."

¹⁴ "Within its cabinet, measuring about six by eight feet on the face and less than three feet deep, are controls capable of selecting any one of 10,000,000 subjects out of haphazard documents photographed on the reels of films fed through it. Each reel may contain 500,000 pictures that pass over a selecting eye for individual re-photographing by a special camera at the rate of 60,000 pictures a minute."

"The 10,000,000 possible arrangements of the dots provide every conceivable combination of cross-index code for any subject ranging, in the Department of Agriculture's research, from hybrid corn to penicillin and its multiple experiments and applications." (Charles Hurd, in *New York Times*, June 23, 1940).

¹⁵ Louis N. Ridenour, "Mechanical Brains, Announcing Second Industrial Revolution," *Fortune*, May, 1949.

Space and the purpose of this article do not permit me to discuss similar influences in agriculture.

3. Past experience shows that discoveries of new energies such as electricity act as limiting factors in employment of manual workers but require many more trained technicians as well as clerical and office workers. Electric power stations, based on water power, require very few manual workers. Energy is produced by the power of water; the machines do not need workers who would operate them manually. An army of trained technicians who do not strain their muscles, but work with their brains, is needed to plan, build, and operate the machines. But an army of bookkeepers, tellers, typists, managers is needed to distribute the energy and administer the distribution. Every month the whole army of office people have to prepare bills, check the books, inform the customers about new developments, encourage them to higher consumption.

Atomic discovery will produce a much wider use and distribution of energy than is now the case. Energy will become still cheaper and still more generally used. This will continue to affect the division of labor; more people will have to be employed to work with their brains and less to use their muscles. In consequence, the intelligentsia, either as a functional group or as a class, will grow. Mechanization of industry and especially cheap energies are usually conducive to a shorter working day if processes of accumulation of capital do not interfere with those social opportunities which modern technology offers. One might mention Robert Owen's classic examples or the later experimentation of Ernst Abbe¹⁶ in Zeiss Jena Works to show that technological advance leads normally to a shorter working day. Though rarely in history, this was achieved without a hard struggle by organized labor. Wide exploration by the International Labor Office in Geneva has shown, furthermore, that while technological advance is conducive to shorter working hours on the other hand a trend toward a shorter working day has its effects on technological

advance.¹⁷ This means still further consumption of energy and elimination of physical effort.

Shorter labor hours means more leisure, and more leisure may lead to a large expansion of adult education and recreational services. Recreational activities mean institutions of adult education (let us hope), theaters, concert halls, maybe research institutions as a leisure proposition, as well as various types of organizations for recreational activities, parks, stadiums, and similar things. All that means a higher demand on intellectual workers, teachers, artists, instructors and others.

CONSEQUENCES OF CHANGE IN SOCIAL STRUCTURE

It was shown above that, among other factors, discovery of new basic energies such as the atomic will lead to the growth of the class of intellectual workers. Rise of intelligentsia in Europe will have a wide political influence. It may create an entirely new system of class division; and as class division corresponds, in certain limited sense, in Europe to political division, change in social structure may effect distribution of political power in Europe. Appearance of the intelligentsia as a new class may also be an augury of a new ruling, privileged class in Europe, where the class division has always been deeper. Such were the gloomy predictions of Alexander Machajski and his friend, Max Nomad. Similarly, James Burnham in his "Managerial Revolution" anticipated a rule of the managerial class.

In fact, this did actually happen in the Soviet Union where the new intelligentsia did become a privileged class. Even in democratic societies in which nationalization is making progress, fear among the workers that a new privileged class might emerge is already apparent. Also in democratic Great Britain those fears can be noted, as for instance in a recent publication of the Fabian Society, "Miners and the Board." Though this publication is a second-hand reporting based on replies of 88 well-

¹⁷ Edgard Milhaud, "La Journée de Huit Heures et ses Résultats," Geneva, 1927.

¹⁶ Ernst Abbe, *Sozialpolitische Schriften*, Jena.

informed experts who were asked to answer what the miners were thinking, it still contains information which shows the issues. Eighty-four informants reported that the miners think there are too many posts. "The majority of the men," to quote the report, "believe the stories about salaries, mansions, motor cars, etc. because they see them. . . . If the stories are not true, then it is the fault of the Board in allowing showy officials to run around the coalfields. . . ." The miner thinks, in general, according to this report, that there are too many posts and he shows a good deal of distrust of the "intellectual worker."¹⁸ It might have been that the complaints of the miners are not justified. Moreover, we know that any factory, any mine needs its office and engineering staff. If a nationalized mine has to produce, it cannot exist without those men. Men, about whom the miners complain, might be useful and excellent experts. It is possible that the miners are entirely wrong. All that granted,

¹⁸ See an extensive editorial in the *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, May 19, 1949. I quote from this article since the original report had not reached me when I wrote this paper.

it still shows the feeling, the opinions, the distinctions.

Class division, or division in social strata, is a consequence of labor division; and division into farmers, workers and intelligentsia will remain even in nationalized systems just because of the consequences of functional, occupational distribution of employment, which in turn shapes a number of social, cultural characteristics. From the point of view of a democratic value system, as long as this relationship is not exploitative, as long as one class does not rule the other and does not exploit the other, such a distribution of social strata is not very harmful.

There is no necessity, however, that the intelligentsia in Europe must in the future turn into a new privileged and exploitative group. Lewis Corey in his constructive writings¹⁹ gives us a plan for a cooperative system in which the intelligentsia, like all useful classes, would find their proper place in a democratic society.

¹⁹ "Unfinished Task," New York, 1942; "Planning Without Statism," in *European Ideologies*, Philosophical Library, 1948.

THEORY AND METHOD FOR RESEARCH IN COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP

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THE MOST prominent research investigations of leadership relations currently making scientific progress appear to be sociometric studies. But despite their contributions, sociometric studies seem to be seriously hampered, in terms of integrating diverse patterns of leadership, by an inadequate theoretical orientation. The inadequacy of this orientation stems primarily from the inability of "socio-criteria" to comprise a system of related leadership categories but also from the proponents' questionable claims that (1) leadership is based on harmonious group support; (2) the correct research method to determine leadership is to proceed by means of "respondent

authorship" through the "reality test"; (3) leadership positions should be determined only by sociogram inspection—which not only becomes progressively more difficult as the size and scope of the community increases, but also denies the validity of quantitative treatments (including sampling methods and leadership hierarchies).¹

¹ Cf. Helen H. Jennings, "Structure of Leadership," *Sociometry*, July-October, 1937, 1:99-143, especially p. 133; "Sociometry of Leadership," *Sociometry Monograph* No. 14, New York: Beacon Publishing Company, 1947, pp. 24, 26-27; *Leadership and Isolation*, New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1943, p. 230; and J. L. Moreno, *Who Shall*

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To develop an alternative research treatment which would eliminate the limitations of the sociometric approach and provide a possible basis for a more generalized theory of leadership relations, a New York rural community, comprising about 4,000 residents, was studied in 1946-1947. The general objective of the study was to investigate the association between informal and formal leadership.² The sample consisted of a universe of 105 Heads of Organizations (adult) and a Comparison Sample of 176 persons, the latter obtained by interviewing an adult, preferably the husband or wife, residing in every fifth house in the community, excluding those where Heads of Organizations resided.

The major objectives of the study were (1) to state a research hypothesis which would yield useful information for authorities engaged in utilizing leadership structures; (2) to develop, within the methodological framework of "analytic induction,"³ a systematic battery of interview statements which, in the "choice process,"⁴ refer to analytical types of informal leadership; (3) to organize a method for constructing an informal leadership hierarchy; (4) to provide a method for measuring formal leadership;

and (5) to develop generalizations from the findings.

STATEMENT OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM. The first objective was met by posing the hypothesis that *the correlation between informal and formal leadership is sufficiently close to permit the community specialist to predict, with a practicable degree of precision, that he has a high ranking formal leader when he selects a high ranking informal leader and vice versa.* For efficient and correct utilization of leadership structures it is not enough to know that the two classes of leadership are related—but rather it is important to know how closely they are related and in what social areas they diverge. Too many authorities embark in haste upon promotional programs without systematic knowledge of the complexities of community leadership structures.

ANALYTICAL TYPES OF INFORMAL LEADERSHIP. The method of "analytic induction" requires a "closed system" of "ideal types"⁵ of leadership roles and a series of interview statements defined in terms of the "ideal types" such that the respondent, according to his perspective of the community leadership structure, can indicate and classify significant personalities in the roles they most prominently assume. The definitions of leadership by major theoretical class of influence and the corresponding technical statements as posed to re-

Survive?, Washington, D.C.: Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Company, 1934, pp. 7, 13. For two studies deviating somewhat from the Jennings-Moreno interpretation, see Frank A. Stewart, "A Sociometric Study of Influence in South Town," *Sociometry*, February, 1947, 10:11-31; and Bryce Ryan, "Social and Ecological Patterns of the Farm Leadership of Four Iowa Townships," *Agricultural Experiment Station Research Bulletin* 306, Iowa State College, September, 1942, pp. 148-149, 166-180.

²James E. White, *Leadership and Social Structure in a New York Rural Community*, a Thesis presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Cornell University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Ithaca, New York, September, 1948. The writer wishes to acknowledge both the support given to this study by the Cornell Agricultural Experiment Station and the guidance of Professor Robin M. Williams, Jr., in the preparation of the thesis.

³Florian Znaniecki, *The Method of Sociology*, New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1934, pp. 261-322.

⁴LeRoy E. Bowman, "An Approach to the Study of Leadership," *Journal of Applied Sociology*, March, 1927, 11:315-321.

⁵For significant analyses of "ideal type" categories for use in methods of research and analysis see Howard Becker, "Constructive Typology in the Social Sciences," *American Sociological Review*, February, 1940, 5:40-46; Robert F. Winch, "Heuristic and Empirical Typologies: A Job for Factor Analysis," *American Sociological Review*, February, 1947, 12:68-74; Florian Znaniecki, *loc. cit.*; Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, being Part I of *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, translated by A. R. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, revised and edited by Talcott Parsons, London: William Hodge and Co., Ltd., 1947, p. 24; and Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1947, p. 619. For a strong objection to the "ideal type" method of analysis and the substitution of the "social type" method see Samuel M. Strong, "Social Types in a Minority Group," *American Journal of Sociology*, March, 1943, 48:563-573.

spondents by empirical class of leadership role were as follows:

Definition of Leadership by Major Theoretical Class of Influence

Technical Statement Posed to Respondent by Empirical Class of Leadership

I. AUTHORITY-POWER:

The exercise of coercive power over others which stems from the pyramiding into a person's control of numerous office positions—an integral force involving the exercise of self-imposed "constraint" on the part of others to obey moral pressures and limitations on their behavior. An example of the informal exercise of this class of influence would be the case of the city councilor (also a hardware dealer) who conditions the granting of a school construction contract with the expectation that the contractor will buy his hardware supplies from his hardware firm.⁶

II. INNOVATIVE ZEAL:

The exercise of initiative to change the status quo with innovative programs or projects or usages. An implicit claim to "charismatic authority" is

I. INFLUENTIAL PERSONS:

"This question has to do with influential persons. That is, it often happens that certain persons have a way of influencing people who may head different organizations, or they may be influential in other ways. But they have quite a bit to say about how things go. They are often in a position to carry quite a bit of weight in determining the direction programs, projects, developments in the community take. Who would you say are fairly influential persons in this respect in this District? Who are fairly influential persons here?"

II. BOOSTERS:

"The question here has to do with what I call Boosters. That is, what persons living in the district here, would you say, usually take the initiative to start or

often involved in challenging the vested controls of the established authority-power bearers, and is based on sensitivity to unmet needs or dissatisfactions in certain sectors of the population subject to the discipline expected by authority-power bearers.⁷

III. PRESTIGE:

The exercise of achievement success in setting pacemaking standards of efficiency and organizing ability, in stimulating emulative competition in the area of demonstrated skillful contributions—both of which, in producing feelings of unworthiness on the part of those who exhibit lack of achievement, set up a pattern of achievement-goals which never disappear as long as competitors feel belittled.⁸

IV. SYMPATHETIC UNDERSTANDING:

The exercise of a sympathetic "feeling

boost new ventures in farming, business, public works, civic affairs, or community projects? What persons usually do a lot of the boosting to get new things rolling? Who would you say are Boosters in this community?"

III. PROMINENT PERSONS:

"What persons would you say have made a name for themselves in this community, that is, are prominent for their outstanding work or success or contribution in this district? Who would you say are fairly prominent for what they've done in this respect? Who would you say are prominent persons here in this community?"

IV. WIDELY WELL-LIKED PERSONS:

"Who would you say are fairly wide-

⁶Cf. Robert M. MacIver, *The Web of Government*, New York: Macmillan Company, 1947, pp. 87-97; Talcott Parsons, "Propaganda and Social Control," *Psychiatry*, Nov. 1942, 5:551-572; Godfrey and Monica Wilson, *The Analysis of Social Change*, New York: The Macmillan Co., 1945, pp. 49-50; Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action*, pp. 383-403; Emile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society*, translated by George Simpson, Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1947, pp. 396-435; and Florian Znaniecki, *op. cit.*, pp. 281-283.

⁷Cf. Robert Michels, *Political Parties*, New York: Hearst's International Co., 1915, Part II, Chapter VI, "The Struggle Among the Leaders Themselves"; Dwight Sanderson, "Disadvantaged Classes in Rural Life," *Rural America*, December, 1938.

⁸Cf. W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, Boston: Richard G. Badger, The Gorham Press, 1930, Vol. IV, Chapter IV; William E. Blatz, "The Individual and the Group," *American Journal of Sociology*, May, 1939, 44:820-838; R. M. MacIver, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-115; Abram Kardiner, *The Individual and His Society*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1939, pp. 9-10, 52, 338-340, 447; and Lewis Leopold, *Prestige: A Psychological Study of Social Estimates*, London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1913, pp. 29-32, 47-50, 149-150, 221-223.

with" influence, the ability to "take the role of the other," to promote the mutual participation of groups and persons in each others' attitudes and experiences as well as in solutions of inter-group conflicts, differences and antipathies. This type of influence constitutes an essential binding cord in situations where latent tendencies to conflict inherent in the exercise of authority-power, innovative zeal and prestige may promote dissociative processes. A basic result of the exercise of this inter-communicative function is the projection on personalities exerting it of a common value of affection, of appreciation, of recognition.⁹

V. SOCIAL JUSTICE IN DECISION-MAKING: The exercise of justice in rendering decisions to produce equitable treatment of groups which are actually or potentially in opposition to each other in community problem situations. This is a second type of integrative influence which leaders may exert to attain, in

ly well-liked persons in this community? Of course no one knows everyone in the area and most everyone has a critic or two. That's human nature. But all the same some people are fairly widely well-liked over the area. And that's true in every community. Who would you say are fairly widely well-liked persons in this area? Who would you say are well-liked persons in this community?"

V. REPRESENTATIVE PERSONS: "You are asked to nominate persons who could get people to cooperate in common projects such as Community Fairs, Park Associations, Community Councils, Central School Districts and the like. Who could make fair and just decisions for the benefit of every-

substantial form, free one in the whole area? assent to leadership, or Whom would you nominate as Representatives?"¹⁰

To be valid a battery of technical questions like that above should delineate leaders who specialize in different roles. The study therefore posted a corollary to the major hypothesis to the effect that *respondent choices will differentiate significant personalities by type of influence exerted*. This corollary was affirmed by the findings of the study to the following degree: *respondent choices differentiate leaders into three "role-combination choice" groups—"mono-role specialists," "dual-role specialists," and role generalists."* Among the latter, which may alternatively be termed "community leaders," the "halo effect"¹¹ may have operated to blur distinctions between types of leaders but regardless of the possible blurring these were highly "over-chosen" personalities.¹²

METHOD FOR CONSTRUCTING THE INFORMAL LEADERSHIP HIERARCHY. Two different kinds of distributions were available for constructing the informal leadership hierarchy. First there were, for each group of respondents, five different leadership distributions—any one of which was inadequate as a general measure of influence. Second were two summarizing distributions—Total Leadership Mentions and Total Influence. The first of these measures comprises the *total number of*

¹⁰ Cf. Charles E. Merriam, *Systematic Politics*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1945, pp. 45-46, 48; and T. M. Newcomb, *Personality and Social Change*, New York: Dryden Press, 1943, pp. 54-55.

¹¹ Cf. Gordon Allport, *Personality: A Psychological Interpretation*, New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1937, pp. 446-447; E. L. Thorndyke, "A Constant Error in Psychological Ratings," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1930, 4: 25-29; W. V. Bingham, "Halo, Invalid and Valid," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1939, 23: 221-228; and J. P. Guilford and A. P. Jorgenson, "Some Constant Errors in Rating," *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 1938, 22: 43-57.

¹² Cf. James E. White, *op. cit.*, pp. 666-746 for more complete analysis of these findings.

⁹ Cf. George H. Mead, *Mind, Self, and Society*, edited by Charles W. Morris, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1934, pp. 194-196, 256-257, 299; Chester Alexander, "Antipathies and Social Behavior," *American Journal of Sociology*, January, 1946, 51: 288-292; Karen Horney, *The Neurotic Personality of Our Time*, New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1938, Chapters X, XV; and Murphy, Murphy and Newcomb, *Experimental Social Psychology*, New York: Harper and Brothers, Rev. Ed., 1937, pp. 528-542.

choices a given person received in all roles from all respondents per group. The second is equivalent to the number of respondents mentioning a person and is defined as the number of "role-combination choices" he received per group. Since a role-combination counts as one regardless of multiple choices per respondent, Total Influence could not exceed, for a given person, 176 for the Comparison Sample group and 105 for the Heads of Organizations. Total Leadership

ranking of significant personalities by Total Influence as measured by the choices of the Comparison Sample. The hierarchy of the top forty informal leaders is shown in Table 1.

METHOD FOR MEASURING FORMAL LEADERSHIP. As a final step an index of formal leadership, termed Total Office Score, was devised using the following arbitrarily weighted scoring system: (1) Chair offices, 5 points; (2) Board offices, 4

TABLE 1. SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFERENCES IN ASSOCIATION BETWEEN INFORMAL AND FORMAL LEADERSHIP FOR THE TOP FORTY INFORMAL LEADERS

Leadership Roles	Correlation Coefficients With Total Office Score		Critical Ratios	The Probability that r Approximates ρ
	Comparison Sample r	Heads of Organizations ρ		
Total Influence	.127	.542	3.674	.00024
Well-Liked	.246	.413	1.261	.207
Prominent	-.069	.266	2.258	.024
Booster	.072	.211	.903	.367
Influential	.432	.581	1.409	.179
Representative	.484	.507	.188	.936

Mentions was discarded as a summarizing measure because it was thought to over-emphasize the "halo-effect," being over-weighted by multiple choices for given persons by some respondents not inclined to be as discriminative as others.¹³

Another choice had to be made. Since the rank correlation of .763 between the two Total Influence distributions made either equally available it was decided to use Comparison Sample choices, as the criterion for ranking leaders, on the hunch that they would be less influenced by clique preferences for officers than would choices of the Heads of Organizations. (See Table 1 for confirmation of this hunch.) *The informal leadership hierarchy was defined then as the*

points; (3) Major Committee Chairmanships, 3 points; and (4) Minor Committee Chairmanships, 2 points. Total Office Score consists, for a given leader, of the sum of scores for all of the offices he held. Table 3 includes the Total Office Scores for each of the top forty informal leaders.

Three difficulties were encountered in the use of this measure. The first is related to the variation in terminology characteristic of different associations in designating similar offices. This trait devolves upon the investigator the necessity for having intimate knowledge of the specific functions of particular offices in the groups involved. Second, a fifth type of office, termed Individual Office Function—popularly designated sometimes as "committee-of-one"—is difficult to place in the above system; it may actually fall in any of the above four classes except that of the Board office. Finally, the system does not account for extra-organization or community significance of the offices. To do

¹³ The correlations between these two measures per respondent group were .708 for the Comparison Sample and .946 for the Heads of Organizations. Apparently the "halo effect" produced more disparity between the two measures for the Comparison Sample than for the Heads of Organizations.

this would constitute a major research project in itself since there were approximately 1,600 offices in the 129 organizations discovered in the community.

THE FINDINGS. (A). *The Test of the Hypothesis.* The coefficients of correlation between informal and formal leadership are, from Table 1, page 54, .127 for the Comparison Sample and .542 for the Heads of Organizations.

Two inferences are now possible. First, when the Comparison Sample is assumed to be one of a universe of samples drawn from the Comparison Population, *there is little reason to believe that the Population correlation coefficient between the two measures is not zero.*¹⁴ Second, when the Comparison Population correlation coefficient is assumed to be equivalent to that of the Heads of Organizations, and hence *with the Comparison Sample regarded as one of a universe of samples drawn from the Heads of Organization Population, the hypothesis that the difference between r and ρ (which we know) is zero must be rejected.* The probability that r approximates ρ is 24 times out of 100,000.¹⁵ These inferences lend strong support to the conclusion that *presiding officers prefer informal leaders who are officers to a*

much greater extent than do the "Comparison Sample" type of people. The community specialist would be wrong fewer times in selecting formal leaders as informally influential by basing his selections on the preferences of the Heads of Organizations. The formal leaders are like the Heads of Organizations in that they are more likely than the Comparison Sample people to be village residents, to have more education, higher family participation scores, higher social status scores, higher family living expenditures, and higher occupational status. The latter, being disadvantaged in these respects, tend to place more emphasis upon informal leaders who are not formal leaders and with whom they are better acquainted in activities of an informal nature. More broadly stated: the Comparison Sample (1) does select among the upper social levels for significant personalities, but (2) rules out office-holding as a necessary qualification for informal leadership.

A third inference is also derivable. Assume, first, that the criterion for satisfactory closeness, permitting an authority to consult only one respondent group and thereby to select informal leaders as formal leaders (and vice versa), is a coefficient of determination (the correlation coefficient squared) of at least 50 per cent or greater, then it follows that *the major hypothesis is negated*, for the percentage of variation in formal leadership, which is explained by variation in informal leadership is 1.6 per cent for the Comparison Sample, and 29.4 per cent for the Heads of Organizations.¹⁶ In more direct terms, less than one out of 40 formal leaders may be ranked correctly through the variation in ranking of informal leaders (and vice versa) for the Comparison Sample; with less than 12 formal leaders correctly ranked for the Heads of Organizations. The use of an informal leader's Total Influence standing to predict his Total Office Score (and vice versa) is simply not reliable, for either respondent group. *Informal and*

¹⁴ R. A. Fisher in his *Statistical Methods for Research Workers*, London and Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1946, 10th Ed. Rev., p. 209, shows that the value of a correlation coefficient of a sample with 38 degrees of freedom (40-2 classes of informal leaders of one each) would have to be .3345 or greater, at the .05 level of significance, to be significantly different from zero.

¹⁵ R. A. Fisher, *op. cit.*, pp. 193-197, points out that the sampling distribution of r departs from normality with increase in the value of the Population. However, G. Udney Yule and M. G. Kendall, *An Introduction to the Theory of Statistics*, London: Charles Griffin & Co., Ltd., 1947, 13th Ed. Rev., pp. 449-450, illustrate that for samples of size 50, with moderate ρ , such as .60, the sampling distribution of r is, on a minimum basis, close to normal—but skews badly for samples of size 20 or smaller. Since the number of informal leaders is size 40 and since ρ is .542, for the purpose of this study the sampling distribution of r may be treated as reasonably close to normal. With this clarification, it is possible to proceed to use the tables on the area of the normal curve for determining probabilities.

¹⁶ See Margaret Hagood, *Statistics for Sociologists*, New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1941, pp. 624-625.

formal leadership are not closely related to each other; they are simply different. Informal leadership occurs in a social process not significantly conditioned by the holding of formal leadership positions. If therefore the community specialist wishes to include the total informal leadership structure in promoting programs in rural areas he should consider two different areas of informal leadership. He would be required to obtain informal leaders who rank high with both respondent groups.

It is worthwhile to consider which informal leadership roles are most closely related to Total Office Scores. Study of Table 1 indicates that *Prominent persons and Boosters do not, while Influential and Representative persons do, rank high as formal leaders—with the Well-liked persons falling in between these two poles.* Furthermore we can conclude that, for the Comparison Sample at least, *there is no basis for believing that the Comparison Population correlation coefficients for the Prominent, the Booster, and the Well-liked roles are not zero.*¹⁷ *Since the correlations involving the Influential and Representative roles (.432 and .484 respectively) are significantly different from zero, we may also conclude that they constitute the best role estimates of Total Office Scores.*

When the test is the degree to which the correlation coefficients for the Comparison Sample approximate those for the Heads of Organizations, under the assumptions stated earlier, two additional inferences seem important. The first is that the assessments of the two groups of respondents are in fair agreement with respect to four leadership roles as predictors of formal leadership, the exception being the assessments with respect to the Prominent role. We conclude that *the exercise of Prestige influence is positively associated (not greatly to be sure) with formal leadership for the Heads of Organizations, but not for the Comparison Population.* The second is that the Heads of Organizations stress the Influential role as being significant in formal leadership while the

Comparison Sample respondents stress the Representative role. The conclusion here is that *the Heads of Organizations, because they are more acquainted than the latter population with the importance and function of authority-power as Presiding Officers, place more weight upon the Influential role, while the Comparison Population, being disadvantaged in this respect, value more significantly the function of Social Justice in decision-making—the Representative role.*

Finally, it is important to determine the number of persons present in both leadership hierarchies.¹⁸ This can be done simply by determining percentages as in Table 2 below, which not only includes the number and percentage of the top forty informal

TABLE 2. NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF INFORMAL LEADERS WHO ARE ALSO FORMAL LEADERS BY CATEGORY OF INFORMAL LEADERS

Category of Informal Leaders	Number of Informal Leaders	Percentage of Informal Leaders
Top Forty Informal Leaders also Top Forty Formal Leaders	20	50
Top Forty Informal Leaders also Top Eighty Formal Leaders	24	60
Second Forty Informal Leaders also Top Eighty Formal Leaders	12	30
Top Eighty Informal Leaders also Top Eighty Formal Leaders	36	45

leaders who are also among the top forty formal leaders but also similar relevant data for the second forty informal and formal leaders. Two major findings may be derived. The first conclusion (when only the top forty informal and formal leaders are considered) is that *the community worker would by chance be right 50 per cent of the*

¹⁷ Cf. footnote 14, above.

¹⁸ The formal leadership hierarchy, measured by Total Office Scores, may be found in James E. White, *op. cit.*, pp. 597 and 599.

time, if he knew the leaders present in one hierarchy, in selecting among them for persons who would be present in the other hierarchy (although, of course, he could not predict the rank of such persons). Thus only twenty or 50 per cent of the top forty informal leaders are also listed among the top forty formal leaders. The second conclusion (when eighty leaders are included in both hierarchies) is that the percentage of chance does not improve but lessens slightly. Thus 36 or 45 per cent of the top eighty informal leaders are included among the top eighty formal leaders.¹⁹

THE FINDINGS. (B). *Divergence of Formal from Informal Leadership.* It is appropriate here to inquire into the question of why certain informal leaders are not formal leaders. A cursory inspection of the Total Office Score column of Table 3 presented below reveals not only the randomness of office holding among the informal leaders, but also the fact that ten informal leaders among the top forty have office scores of less than 10. (An office score of 28 is required to place an informal leader among the top forty formal leaders.)

There appear to be four principal reasons in the community studied for the divergence of formal from informal leadership. It is likely that in other communities other reasons may also be operative. The first of these is economic. Certain informal leaders are so busy, so involved in business enterprise that they have little opportunity or inclination to participate in the formal organizational life of the community. Such participation is unimportant for their roles in local affairs. A second factor seems to be the obligations of some leaders to participate in the informal social life of closely-knit ethnic groups. These informal obligations may be so numerous and absorbing that these leaders are not inclined to take part in formally organized association.

¹⁹ These percentages are higher than those established in the study by Frank Stewart, *op. cit.*, which showed that 38 per cent of the top influentials held no offices at all, while practically all in the community studied here held offices; see Table 3.

TABLE 3. BASIC LEADERSHIP DATA FOR THE TOP FORTY INFORMAL LEADERS

Informal Leadership Rank Number	Total Influence		Total Office Score
	Heads of Organizations (N=105)	Comparison Sample (n=176)	
1	37	107	0
2	43	86	38
3	62	82	38
4	53	79	37
5	53	78	36
6	24	66	9
7	24	65	2
8	46	62	19
9	49	61	39
10	50	59	37
11	54	58	37
12	28	56	17
13	54	55	52
14	25	50	4
15	27	48	42
16	28	47	34
17	22	46	22
18	33	45	30
19	21	44	23
20	14	43	21
21	14	40	0
22	18	39	46
23	18	39	35
24	20	38	14
25	27	35	55
26	13	35	7
27	3	29	2
28	23	28	39
29	6	28	3
30	20	26	41
31	21	26	30
32	8	25	24
33	10	25	35
34	8	24	7
35	10	22	0
36	21	21	29
37	23	21	18
38	21	21	15
39	4	21	17
40	16	21	50

A third basis, in the community studied, stems from affiliation with the Catholic Church. The great majority of officers in this area are Protestants who in general represent higher social strata and occupational levels than do the Catholics. Hence, it is to be expected that they would prefer similarly positioned Protestants for formal

TABLE 4. AVERAGE TOTAL INFLUENCE AND AVERAGE TOTAL OFFICE SCORE FOR EACH OF THE FORTY LEADING INFORMALLY INFLUENTIAL ORGANIZATIONS IN THE COMMUNITY

Title of Organization	Average Total Influence per Officer per Organization		Average Total Office Score per Officer per Organization
	Heads of Organizations	Comparison Sample	
Cemetery Association	90	54	52
Financial Corporation	50	43	37
Park Association	49	38	26
Boy Scouts Committee	48	36	27
Special District Government	40	35	23
Men's Church Auxiliary	40	30	30
Financial Corporation	30	28	35
Church Corporation	20	26	14
Fraternal Association	31	26	36
Cemetery Association	28	26	38
Civic Club	32	25	28
Adult Education Association	27	23	26
Recreational Circle	30	23	22
Farmer's Business Ass'n.	30	23	25
Cemetery Association	28	23	34
Church Religious Society	27	22	29
Church Corporation	24	21	35
Welfare Association	29	20	35
Boy Scouts Committee	20	20	14
Civic Club	19	20	19
Local Government	17	19	18
Republican Party	18	18	40
Democratic Party	15	17	15
Church Corporation	18	17	19
Special District Government	18	17	19
Youth Committee	19	17	33
Park Association	14	17	15
Civic Club	17	16	23
Republican Party	19	16	19
Farmer's Business Association	15	15	17
Church Corporation	14	15	21
Church Corporation	24	15	23
Civic Club	21	15	26
Special District Government	22	15	24
Welfare Association	16	15	21
Fraternal Association	15	14	28
Quasi-Local Government	15	14	22
Park Association	16	13	17
Farmer's Association	14	12	19
Civic Club	11	12	12

leadership positions. Under these conditions there are opportunities for certain Catholics to exert an informal personal influence which would not be recognized, or if recognized then invidiously minimized, by the formal leaders, when the Catholic informal leaders were considered for formal positions.

Finally, the "Booster" type of leader may be associated with lack of formal leadership.

There occasionally appear informal leaders who are newcomers, inspired with promotional programs, often recognized quickly and supported by the "Comparison Sample" type of people but regarded as "flashes-in-the-pan" by the formal leaders. The latter through experience in responsible authoritative positions have learned to reserve judgment on such personalities; they are not

quick to promote them for important or many functions immediately—hence, such informal leaders have not acquired many offices.

THE FINDINGS. (C). *The Test for Organization Leadership: An Unexpected Hypothesis.* During the course of analysis it became possible to test the relationship between formal and informal leadership on the plane of organization officer-staffs. This test is important in three ways. First, it should delineate organizations whose officer-staffs are informally influential, and motivate inquiry into the character of their structures. Second, it raises the hypothesis that (in-

The general utility of this table is based on the practice of correcting for size of office structure. It is possible, for example, for some organizations to have but a few officers who are each highly influential but for others to have great numbers, none of whom are individually very high ranking informally. Table 4 differs, incidentally, from Table 3 in that Total Influence as assessed by the Heads of Organizations is proportionately expanded such that this population is assumed to equate in size the Comparison Sample. This practice is intended to facilitate comparison, by inspection, of the estimates of the two groups.

TABLE 5. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN INFORMAL AND FORMAL LEADERSHIP FOR THE OFFICER STAFFS OF THE TOP FORTY INFLUENTIAL ORGANIZATIONS

Measure of Informal Leadership	Measure of Formal Leadership	Correlation Coefficients		Critical Ratio* The Number of Standard Errors r is from ρ	The Probability that r Approximates ρ
		Comparison Sample r	Heads of Organizations ρ		
Total Influence for Officer-Staff per Organization	Total Office Score for Officer-Staff per Organization	.738	.725	-.168	.986
Average Total Influence per Officer per Organization	Average Total Office Score per Officer per Organization	.875	.775	-1.58	.288

* It is recognized that the distribution of r is likely to depart from normality with increase in the size of ρ .

formally) influential formal leaders may prefer to exercise their formal leadership in organizations staffed by similar leaders. Third, if the foregoing are true, the community organizing authority should be greatly aided in utilizing the leadership structure of a given community. Knowing the major areas of divergence of informal from formal leadership and this additional knowledge, the problem of leader selection should be greatly reduced.

The relevant data for testing the hypothesis on this level are presented in Tables 4 and 5. The first table, Table 4, page 58, includes the hierarchy of forty leading organizations, ranked according to Average Total Influence per officer as assessed by the Comparison Sample and also includes the Average Total Office Score per officer.

The second table includes the correlation coefficients between (1) Total Influence per officer-staff (uncorrected) and Total Office Score (uncorrected) and (2) between Average Total Influence and Average Total Office Score per officer per organization.

Three major inferences may be derived from analysis of these data. First, *both groups of respondents see a fairly close correlation between formal and informal leadership for the officer staffs of the forty leading organizations, both when uncorrected and corrected measures are used.*²⁰ Thus, when the uncorrected measure is used, the correlation coefficient for the Comparison Sample is

²⁰ The criterion of closeness of correlation is again at least 50 per cent or greater of the variation in one leadership variable which is due to the variation in the other.

.738 and for the Heads of Organizations it is .725; and when the corrected measure is used the coefficient for the former group is .875 and for the latter group it is .775. Second, *both groups of respondents are in substantial agreement with respect to the size of the correlation, but there is more disagreement when the corrected measure is used.*²¹ It cannot be said, finally, that the critical ratios, indicating the difference in correlations between measures for the two groups of respondents, approach statistical significance. The first conclusion, therefore, is that *the community worker can predict, with considerable accuracy, that both groups of respondents measure the relation between informal and formal leadership for officer-staffs in the same way.* A second is that *there would be a minimum of need for the specialist to contact both respondent groups in order to be sure to predict with success that he could obtain high ranking formally influential staffs by selecting high ranking informally influential staffs (and vice versa).*

These inferences suggest a further possible conclusion that *perhaps it is the type of organization or the type of office which is important to consider in predicting the relationship between informal and formal lead-*

ership among officer-staffs in the rural community. From data not presented here, it was found that 50 per cent or more of the officer-staffs of Traditional-Religious organizations (cemeteries and parks), of Church Corporations, of local Political Parties, and of Governmental and Quasi-Governmental units rank among the forty influential organizations. It was also found that Independent organizations rank among the influential organizations—thus eighteen or 41.9 per cent of the Independent organizations rank among the top forty organizations as compared to twenty-one or 29 per cent of the Federated or Subsidiary and to one or 7.1 per cent of the Auxiliary organizations.²² Furthermore the types of organizations referred to were structured with a high percentage of Principal offices (Chair and Board offices). There was, that is, a minimum of Committee offices (Major and Minor).

These findings then would suggest two additional hypotheses: (1) *that modern rural communities are not much different from isolated "primitive communities" in their emphasis and valuation of the ritualistic and ceremonial types of organizational activities,* and (2) *that the more independent from control by higher authorities these organizations are the more likely they are to be staffed by informally influential formal leaders.*

²² The criteria for these classifications may be found in James E. White, *op. cit.*, pp. 794-802.

²¹ This agreement is no doubt related to similarity between the two groups in their differential ranking of officer-staffs (in terms of informal leadership). Thus the rank correlation coefficient between measures of informal leadership is .878.

SOCIAL CRISES AND SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION

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THAT social change goes on incessantly in complex society is a truism with which every student of society is familiar. But change never follows an even course except as it is viewed in long-time

perspective. Not only are there fluctuations about the trend line, but there are patterns in these fluctuations which take on the character of cycles and are related to the

*The writer is indebted to the Social Science Research Council and the Graduate Committee on Research of Northwestern University for grants-in-aid in support of a research project, "The Effects of the War upon Social Disorganization in

Chicago," from which the present findings have been abstracted from the larger body of data. The present paper has also been radically reduced from its original form by the elimination of charts presenting the original data and of many interpretive sections in the interest of conserving space.

collective life of the group. These cyclical movements are the consequences of crises—critical sequences of events which threaten the stability of the social order.

In the process of social change the stability of any social system is a matter of equilibrium between the processes of organization and disorganization. So long as the process of organization results in a realignment of the patterns of co-operative collective behavior—made possible by the breakdown in the functioning of the old prescriptions—in such a way as to facilitate the more efficient realization of human aspirations and desires than was possible under the old system, social disorganization is but the reciprocal condition of social organization. In social crises, however, the process of disorganization is not immediately balanced by the process of organization and tends to become cumulative in character. This cumulative process of disorganization, however, eventually is checked and the pattern of cumulation reversed in the direction of social organization and the re-establishment of an equilibrium between the processes of organization and disorganization at the trend line from which it departed at the outset of the cycle.

The hypothesis of this study is that social crises will result in changes in the magnitudes of those forms of social disorganization peculiarly related to the changed conditions involved in the critical situation, leaving untouched all other forms of social disorganization. Since the changed conditions of social life constituting the crisis are cyclical in form, the related changes in social disorganization will likewise be cyclical in character.

The two major crises of contemporary life, war and depression, have been selected for purposes of testing this hypothesis. The data are of the Chicago area for the years 1929 to 1946. The forms of social disorganization taken into account are: (1) delinquency, juvenile and adult; (2) family disintegration, as indicated by divorce; (3) mental disorders in their more common manifestations; (4) sexual license as mani-

fested in illegitimate births and bastardy charges; and (5) suicides.¹

THE CRISIS CYCLE

It has often been assumed that social crises lead invariably to marked increases in the prevalence of all major forms of social disorganization. This was the basic assumption back of the studies promoted by the Social Science Research Council both for the depression and World War II. Nevertheless, a variety of patterns are hypothetically possible, particularly when the period under

¹ More precisely the data are for either the city of Chicago, or Cook County, or a combination of the two political areas. The city of Chicago lies wholly within Cook County, but does not constitute the whole of the County. All of the data for the years 1929-35 are in terms of the city of Chicago; for the years 1936-46 they are for Chicago or Cook County as determined by whether a particular agency functions only for the City or for the County. Rates of adult delinquency are based upon arrests within the city of Chicago; pre-adult delinquency upon cases in the Boys' Court, a division of the Municipal Court; juvenile delinquency upon cases in the Juvenile Court of Cook County. Divorce rates are based upon the number of decrees issued by both the Superior and Circuit Courts of Cook County. The rates of mental disorder, either in general or for the diagnostic categories, are based upon admissions to the Psychopathic Hospital of Cook County—a diagnostic agency. The rates of illegitimate births are for Cook County; bastardy rates are for complaints in the Court of Domestic Relations, a division of the Municipal Court. Rates of suicide are based upon the records of the Coroner of Cook County. All rates for the years 1929-35 were available for the city of Chicago regardless of whether the agency was municipal or county as a consequence of the present writer's previous research in which addresses of persons involved in the various forms of disorganization were obtained and sorts were made to separate out all non-Chicago addresses. This was not possible within the more limited scope of the later study and consequently, in order to compare the two crises, data of some series represent a combination of rates for Chicago for 1929-35 with rates for Cook County for 1936-46. It is also true, of course, that the cyclical patterns of series would be more reliably delineated if the period under consideration could be extended both prior to 1929 and following 1946. Further data, however, are not available necessitating analysis within the present period with a full realization of the tentativeness of any conclusions which may be forthcoming.

consideration contains within it both crises as does the period, 1929-46.

The hypothetically possible patterns are nine in number, assuming that the two crises follow in sequence and are separated by a period of normalcy. These patterns for the period under consideration are as follows: (a) the trend pattern in which while there are upward and downward movements from time to time these are of sufficient irregularity as to do nothing more than define a trend, whether upward or downward or upon a plateau; (b) a depression-crest pattern in which there is an upward swing followed by the re-establishment of the trend line which continues throughout the war period; (c) a depression-trough pattern, essentially like the depression-crest pattern except that the cyclical movement is in the opposite direction, i.e., downward and back to the trend line; (d) the war-crest pattern in which the cycle above the trend line occurs in the war period rather than in the depression; (e) the war-trough pattern in which the cycle is below the trend line; (f) the dual-crest pattern in which there are upward cycles for both the depression and war periods; (g) the corresponding dual-trough pattern; and (h) the trough-crest pattern in which the cycles are on opposite sides of the trend line. (See Chart I.)

The trend pattern is represented by the general index of crime (male and female arrests) as well as the more specific types of crime of sex offenses (not including rape), larceny and robbery. In the case of robbery there is some suggestion of conformance to the dual-crest pattern but the resemblance is doubtful. These findings are in harmony with the present writer's analysis of the depression period,² and at variance with Merrill's findings for the war period.³ Merrill found that the war produced a decline in larceny and robbery as indicated by crimes known to the police as reported to the

Federal Bureau of Investigation. Merrill failed to establish a trend line and therefore interprets the decrease as due to the war.⁴ Merrill finds an increase in arrests for prostitution and commercialized vice which is essentially comparable to the present sex offense series. In this instance Merrill is more cautious, suggesting that the increase may be but a reflection of change in police administration.⁵ About all that can be concluded about the relationship of social crises to crime so far as the general crime rate is concerned and the crime rates of robbery, larceny, and sex offenses is that if there are elements in the social crises of depression and war which affect the crime rate these are obscured by more important and persistent factors which determine the trend lines.

The trend pattern is also represented in the rates of illegitimacy. These findings are essentially in accord with those of Merrill for the war period and at variance with general expectations in view of the assumed widespread sexual license of the soldier.⁶ Perhaps the explanation lies in the fact that in war time sexual license tends to become more concentrated in some communities as the consequence of the location of army camps and thus become more apparent to the observation.

Insanity likewise is of the trend pattern so far as the general rate is concerned. The same pattern characterizes many of the diagnostic rates: (a) epilepsy with psychosis, (b) mental deficiency, (c) organic brain disease, (d) no psychosis, (e) undiagnosed psychosis, (f) psychopathic personality, (g) dementia praecox, (h) paranoia, (i) paresis, and (j) lues of the central nervous system. These findings are in general in harmony with those of Merrill who is very reluctant to find in any changes in the diagnostic rates of insanity evidence of the effects of the war.⁷ On the whole, these results harmonize with the present writer's analysis of the depression period with the exception of paranoia which was interpreted

² Ernest R. Mowrer, *Disorganization, Personal and Social*, pp. 153-165.

³ Francis E. Merrill, *Social Problems on the Home Front*, pp. 169-199. (This is one of the series sponsored by the Committee on War Studies of the Social Science Research Council.)

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 184-186, 183.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 198-199.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 111-116.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 200-226.

as presenting a crest pattern.⁸ This interpretation is substantiated by the fact that the rates of paranoia dropped for the years 1936 and 1937 after having gone consistently upward beginning with 1931. Consequently further consideration of this psychosis at a

THE PATTERNS OF DISORGANIZATION

Two series are of the depression-pattern type: one a crest and the other a trough pattern, viz., boys' court and juvenile delinquency, respectively. Both may be regarded as forms of adolescent delinquency

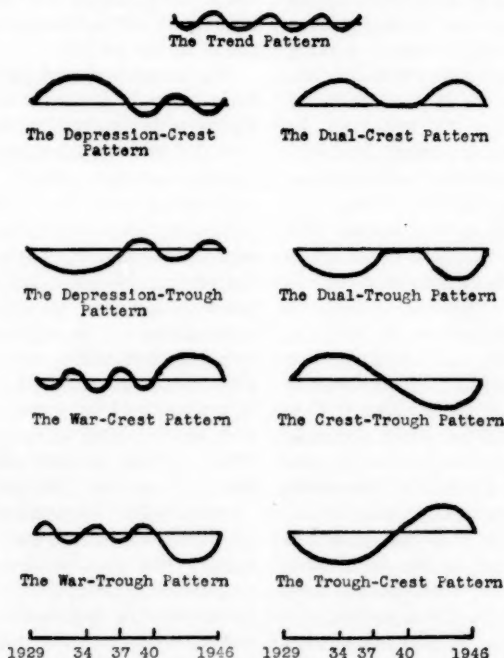


CHART I. Hypothetical Crisis Cycles

later date may necessitate some revision of its conformance to the trend line for both the depression and the war. Except for such inadequately defined categories as "no psychosis," "undiagnosed psychosis," and psychopathic personality, these psychoses all tend to have a rather long drawn out developmental history and would hardly be expected to be affected by social crises of as short duration as the depression and the war. Since the less adequately defined categories are subject to wide fluctuations in administrative practice these fluctuations would tend to obscure any relationship to social crises if it existed.

although the boys' court group are above the juvenile court age which terminates with 17 years and under the minimum criminal court age of 21. Merrill found some evidence of an increase in juvenile delinquency during the war period but he was reluctant to interpret this as anything other than a reflection of the tendency to redefine social problems during a crisis situation.⁹

While hypothetically the war pattern could be either of the crest or trough type none of the latter was found. The series of the crest type are: auto thefts, cerebral arteriosclerosis, and involutional melancholia. Merrill is in agreement regarding the

⁸Ernest R. Mowrer, *op. cit.*, pp. 435-448.

⁹Francis E. Merrill, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-165.

increase in auto thefts and interprets this as a response to the increased scarcity and the accompanying increased demand.¹⁰ This explanation has some plausibility except that other goods were also scarce without the accompanying increase in crime with reference to these articles. The increased mobility of the population, however, would tend to facilitate the theft of automobiles in making the tracing of the stolen auto more difficult.

The pattern of two crests is to be found in but one series, viz., drug addiction. In contrast to the two-crest pattern, the dual trough pattern is represented by four series: (a) alcoholism, (b) embezzlement, (c) mental deficiency with psychosis, and (d) senile dementia. The present writer interpreted the trough of the depression as due to the decline in the economic ability to purchase alcoholic liquor.¹¹ In view of the repeated trough of the war period when purchasing power was high, this explanation loses some of its plausibility. Merrill likewise observes the upward swing in the early years of the war but is mystified by the downward movement toward the end of the war and offers no significant explanation.¹² Since the general tone of a war period is exhilarating in contrast to the debilitation of the depression the same explanation need not hold for both periods and perhaps the economic explanation of the depression trough is as plausible as any to be found. As for the trough during the war, this would seem to be a reflection of the wider opportunities for recognition provided by the war economy which diminish the need for the excessive use of alcohol as an attention-getting device. In spite of the increased regimentation during a war the individual is made to feel his importance in his contribution to the war effort. Furthermore, there may be greater tolerance of alcoholism in wartime with the rationalization that the stresses of war excuse such behavior.

As has already been pointed out, two-cycle patterns may be of the reversed cycle type in which crest follows trough or trough

follows crest. The series of the crest-trough type are: suicides, bastardy, burglary, and manic depressive psychosis.

The trough-crest pattern is represented by four seemingly unrelated series: gambling, divorce, epilepsy without psychosis, and somatic disease with psychosis. And yet all may be more closely related than is apparent on the surface.

The trough cycles of gambling and divorce have much in common. Gambling declines during a depression for the obvious reason that this practice for the great majority requires a constant outlay of money which is not readily available during a depression. Divorces likewise decrease because of the expense of obtaining them, both directly in the cost of litigation and indirectly in the potential increased cost of living involved in maintaining two households in the place of one.¹³ Both gambling and divorce may also show some upward swing during war as a consequence of increased prosperity. But it also seems plausible to interpret the crest cycle of both divorce and gambling as a reflection of the disorganization of individual conduct induced by the war situation in which adventure and excitement overshadow the satisfactions of security and social conformance. Since neither act tends to be regarded as a threat to the morale and esprit de corps of the society the war effort is not thereby threatened.

SOCIAL CRISES AND DISORGANIZATION

As has been shown, some forms of social disorganization are unaffected by the social crises of depression and war. These forms follow the trend line with no response to the conditions which characterize the crises. Other forms of social disorganization go through a process of cyclical change, either above or below the trend line in terms of their relationship to the basic pattern of the crisis situation.

Some of the characteristic features of a depression are: the decline or loss of income necessitating the curtailment of expendi-

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 186-187.

¹¹ *Disorganization, Personal and Social*, p. 448.

¹² *Op. cit.*, pp. 222-223.

¹³ See the writer's *Disorganization, Personal and Social*, p. 505.

tures, the loss of or threat to the security of the individual, the increase in leisure time with the decrease in productive labor, the contraction of opportunity with its attendant disappointments and frustrations, the loss of self-esteem in the acceptance of a lowered standard of living, and the development of a pessimistic and defeatist attitude toward life.

In response to these features of depression, crest cycles are found in suicide, burglary, bastardy, manic depressive psychosis, drug addiction, and pre-adult delinquency (boys' court cases). The increases in suicide and drug addiction are reactions to the frustrations of depression conditions in which the individual sometimes gives up and at other times escapes the depressing circumstances through euphoria. The increase in burglary is probably to be interpreted as a response to the loss of income through legitimate channels and the substitution of the appropriation of other persons' property under conditions where the hazards of detection are not so apparent as in robbery, for example. Likewise bastardy suits are related to the economic stringency of the period which acts as a pressure upon the unmarried mother to attempt more often to coerce the unmarried father into sharing the responsibility for the care of the child. The increase in manic depression psychosis would seem to be related to the pessimistic and defeatist attitudes along with suicide and drug addiction. Pre-adult delinquency would seem to be a response to the contraction of opportunities in socially accepted forms for many of the youth who under normal conditions would find ready channelization of their adventuresomeness and restlessness in experimental vocational adjustments.

In contrast, trough-cycles are found in juvenile delinquency, alcoholism, embezzlement, mental deficiency with psychosis, senile dementia, gambling, divorce, epilepsy without psychosis, and somatic disease with psychosis. The reduction in alcoholism, divorce, and gambling would seem to be related to the curtailment of income. The decrease in embezzlement probably reflects the decline in the functioning of commercial

and industrial enterprises thus reducing the number of persons in positions of trust and thereby the opportunities of embezzlement. The increased leisure time permits greater supervision of the juvenile and therefore may explain the decrease in juvenile delinquency and also the greater tolerance in the home of individuals handicapped by senile dementia, epilepsy without psychosis, somatic disease with psychosis, and possibly also mental deficiency with psychosis. As for the latter, on the other hand, the lessened competitive strain upon the mentally deficient individual may have less often caused the development of psychotic manifestations.

The war as a crisis period is characterized in part by: enhanced social consciousness and identification with the goal of the group (the nation), instability and mobility of both soldiers and civilians, economic well-being particularly of those engaged in war production, high tempo of life, and grief and depression for those involved directly and indirectly in the casualties of war.

The crest cycle during the war period is to be found in auto thefts, cerebral arteriosclerosis, drug addiction, gambling, divorce, epilepsy without psychosis, and somatic disease with psychosis. Gambling and divorce are undoubtedly in part the result of increased income, but also both probably reflect the instability and mobility of life during wartime. Likewise the increase in auto thefts may have reflected the mobility of the population as well as the increased scarcity of automobiles due to the limitations upon production. Increased employment with less leisure would more often necessitate the placement of the individual suffering from epilepsy without psychosis and from somatic disease with psychosis in mental hospitals for care. The strains and stresses upon the individual would tend to bring into greater prominence the symptoms of cerebral arteriosclerosis, and to the extent to which these stresses and strains were linked up with war casualties they might be expected to accentuate the symptoms of involutional melancholia.

The forms of social disorganization manifesting themselves during the war period

in the trough cycle pattern are: alcoholism, embezzlement, mental deficiency with psychosis, senile dementia, suicide, burglary, bastardy, and manic depressive psychosis. The explanation of the decline of suicides is undoubtedly to be found in the greater identification of the individual with the common goal, as may also be the explanation of decreased alcoholism. In the latter form of disorganization, the widened opportunities for achieving attention and recognition in a situation in which the efforts of every individual take on greater importance may also be of some pertinence. The decline in embezzlement and burglary may likewise reflect in part the greater identification of the individual with the common goal, or they may reflect the improved economic conditions of those groups most given to crimes of this character. Decrease in bastardy charges undoubtedly is also a reflection of economic well-being as well as of the difficulties involved in legal prosecution due to the high mobility of the age-group within which fall the unmarried fathers. Decline in mental deficiency with psychosis, senile dementia, and manic depressive psychosis may

be the outgrowth of expanded opportunities and decreased frustration of persons who otherwise would be handicapped, if not completely disregarded from the standpoint of group effort. This decreased frustration is also undoubtedly related to the increased identification of the individual with common goals, welding into a great fraternity individuals with widely differing capacities and potentialities.

Thus the data reflecting varying forms of personal and social disorganization in Chicago confirm the general thesis that those forms related to the basic characteristics of the social crises of depression and war will reflect directly or inversely the circumstances of depression and war, leaving unchanged from their trend lines those forms of social and personal disorganization not so related. Whether the relationship established through the use of Chicago data can be assumed to have general validity will have to await further research, although the presumption that these findings can be generalized would seem to be warranted in the absence of contrary findings and could well serve as the hypothesis for further research.

WHAT CAN SOCIAL CASE WORK CONTRIBUTE TO THE SOCIAL SCIENCES?*

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CONFERENCES between representatives of the social sciences and of social work have tended, during the last decade or so, to focus upon the question of which contributes more to the other. Has the major creditor been the sciences that furnish the background for professional practice or

the professions that distill from these bodies of knowledge specific information for use in day-by-day activity? Actually, neither the sciences nor the professions could get along without the other. The profession that tries to feed upon itself stagnates. The science that ignores the validation or refutation of its hypotheses by tested practice becomes aridly abstract. It is therefore wholesome that present emphasis tends more and more to be not upon what each owes the other or deserves recognition for contributing, but how the two fields are or can be in constant interrelationship, providing a healthy and necessary cross-fertilization.

I am reminded of the response which a

* Paper given at a section meeting of the American Association of Schools of Social Work during the National Conference of Social Work, Cleveland, June, 1949. In the preparation of the paper the author had the able help of her colleagues in the Bureau of Public Assistance of the Social Security Administration, Federal Security Agency, particularly that of Elizabeth Alling, but the opinions expressed are the author's and not necessarily those of the Bureau.

former colleague at the College of William and Mary, Dr. Collerohe Krassovsky, made when asked to speak at the National Conference of Social Work in Atlantic City in 1941 on the contribution of minority groups to American culture. "Contribution?" she asked. "Minorities are not contributors but part and parcel of American culture. One might as well speak of the contribution of the apple to the apple pie. Without the apple you might be able to have a pie, but you distinctly would not have apple pie."¹

In order to understand what a specific phase of one profession has to offer to a specific group of sciences, one must understand first the interplay between all pertinent sciences and those professions that apply in practice a body of knowledge and skills to the affairs of others and in theirs and the public's interest.² The professions are dependent upon the sciences for the systematic investigation of specific branches of study and for the establishment of verifiable general laws based upon observation and classification of facts. In proportion to the extent to which any one of the pertinent biological, psychological, or social sciences lags in the discharge of its functions, the professions are held back in the use which they can make of available knowledge and in the effectiveness of the practice based upon that knowledge. Conversely, the sciences are in large measure dependent upon the professions to supply certain types of data, to test out certain hypotheses, and to give direction to the areas of needed further inquiry. The recorded or observed practice of the professions may thus serve as a laboratory for the scientist who wishes to draw for appropriate use upon their data or their methods.

In considering how social case work and the social sciences aid each other, it might be well to trace their common ancestry before

examining their mutual interests, methods, and concepts. Social case work and social science both claim descent from the case method of social study of which LePlay was an early exponent. In background Frédéric LePlay was a metallurgist. When he was teaching engineering to students, he was said to have opened his lectures by asking, "What is the most important thing that comes out of the mine?" At the students' almost inevitable reply, based upon absorption in their new field of competence, the professor would gravely shake his head. "No, the most important thing that comes out of the mine is not the coal or the iron or any other type of product, but the miner." This deep interest in the people who earned their living and lived out their lives in and around a particular place of occupation led LePlay to bring the methods of natural science to the observation of social facts and their inductive analysis. He took the family for the elementary social unit and used the family budget as the quantitative expression of family life and the basis for quantitative analysis of social facts. To gather his data, he lived in the homes of workingmen in many countries and out of these firsthand observations built his famous family monographs showing the influence of occupation and place of habitation on the organization and function of the family.³ Social scientists have used this case study method for social investigation and for social description. Social workers have applied it to the analysis and treatment of individual problems and needs. Both social scientists and social workers have long employed the case method of teaching.

Against this background, we may now consider the specific contribution of social case work to the social sciences. Social case work is one of society's instrumentalities for adjusting social programs to individual needs and for creating special services for those whose needs are not otherwise being met. In carrying out this objective case workers

¹ See Collerohe Krassovsky, "Some Social-Psychological Considerations toward American Unity," *Interpreter Releases*, Nov. 1941.

² Oxford Unabridged Dictionary; Abram Flexner, "Is Social Work a Profession?" *Proceedings*, National Conference of Charities and Corrections, 1915.

³ See Pitirim Sorokin, *Contemporary Sociological Theories*, 1928, Chap. II; Emory Bogardus, *History of Social Thought* (2d ed.), 1929, p. 615; and Rupert B. Vance, *Class Notes. Les ouvriers européens* was first published in 1855.

have tested against results certain basic principles regarding human nature, human behavior, human rights, and human needs.⁴

Through these tested concepts social case work can contribute to the social sciences in at least three significant ways:

1. in the use by social scientists of methods and techniques common to social science research and social case work;
2. in the use by social scientists of analyzed and unanalyzed case-work data;
3. in the review or analysis by social scientists of their own data as tested through case-work practice.

Social science research and social case work make common use of the methodological techniques of interviewing and recording. Aware of the differences in starting point and objectives, scientists and professional practitioners have too readily assumed that there was little common ground. Actually they have an equally great stake in obtaining through the interview authentic and relevant data and of recording those data in a reliable fashion. The scientist who evades acquiring skill in interviewing on the grounds that (1) only factual, impersonal information is involved, (2) the interview relationship is casual and fleeting, (3) there are no treatment objectives, and (4) the size of the sample will cancel out errors, has misunderstood his obligation to research and to science. He is not only jeopardizing the validity of his findings but is missing a rare chance of enriching his analysis. He is also running the risk of harming the interviewee by unwittingly serving as a threat to his status, security, or ease.

So far as my examination of available literature is concerned, social scientists have given scant and often superficial attention to interviewing method and content. The subject is treated briefly in books on statistics. Social case workers, on the other hand, have devoted considerable space in publications, as well as time and attention in classroom and field work courses and

agency supervision, to testing, analyzing, presenting, and teaching the principles, methods, and techniques of interviewing. By now there is an impressive body of knowledge on the subject, together with a growing amount of skill in the use of interviews in practice. Similarly in recording have knowledge and skill been developed. Not all of this information or art is susceptible of social science use. Much, however, can be learned by the scientist from the social worker through discussion, reading, and observation.

What can be said about the social scientist's use of case-work data? First of all, it must be pointed out that social work, like other professions, has an ethic of confidentiality regarding case information and has established criteria for safeguarding its use for research and other purposes. Small agencies can seldom afford the supervision of outside use that is in keeping with these standards. This imposes a definite limitation. In all honesty it must be admitted, in the second place, that neither the analyzed nor the unanalyzed data are readily usable in their present condition. The analyzed data are good but extremely scarce and for the most part, and quite properly so, narrowly focused on professional goals. The unanalyzed data, while abundant and rich, are not summarized sufficiently to be easily handled by scientists outside the profession. Most social work agencies lack staff or funds for summarizing on a continuing basis any but the most immediately useful statistics on program operation, such as coverage, payments, administrative operations, and financing. Such data as are summarized furnish insight into broad dependency trends and are prepared with dependable regularity. An experimental approach, coupled with the stringency of funds, has led to establishment in some States of a permanent sample of caseloads. These tested samples provide a ready means of gathering information on the characteristics of the recipient population.

It would be a fitting service to the social sciences, which in time would redound to the advantage of the profession in the form of additional knowledge, if social workers

⁴See Charlotte Towle, "Social Case Work in Modern Society," *Social Service Review*, XX (June 1946), 165-179 for a fuller treatment of this subject.

could take the intermediate step of summarizing a wider variety of case information than is now available except through direct resort to individual case records. It would be valuable, for instance, if there were always summarized material on applicants' reasons for coming to the agency, the nature of service requested and offered, family and community conditions contributing to the need for financial aid or counseling, and the change in these circumstances and relationships following social service. It would be helpful if social scientists did not need to wait for special studies, such as those developed by the Bureau of Public Assistance and conducted by the States on the characteristics of families receiving aid.⁵ It would, for instance, be useful to social scientists and social workers alike to know with some regularity not just the number and proportion of children deprived of parental support who are born out of wedlock but also to know what kinds of home life, personality make-up (dependencies, deprivations, compensations), community interests and contacts can be considered contributory to or correlative with unmarried motherhood.

One of the laboratory values which social case work provides or could provide for the social sciences lies in the generally reliable way in which case records register the effect upon individuals of social organization and social process. Clients come to social agencies because of varying degrees of failure on their part and society's to work out a satisfactory adjustment to social institutions and relationships. Upon their arrival at the agency they begin to show to experienced observers the effects upon their individual lives of another set of social conditions fostered by the organization, legislative framework, policies, and procedures of public and voluntary programs of social welfare. What types of people respond in what types of ways to what combinations of circumstances? These

are questions to which case records can draw attention and suggest or test hypothetical answers.

To illustrate, some case records show from what kinds of family and social adjustment old people come when they apply for public assistance and to what kinds of family and social relationships they go with their old age assistance payments and counseling. In which situation, pre-agency or post-agency, are family ties stronger and social adjustment greater? What are the major factors in change—economic independence, separate living quarters, or a kindly but impersonal listening to one's troubles? At present we have only clues. Old age assistance has been found in some States, where observations have been focused upon the question, to have stimulated rather than discouraged aid of various kinds from relatives and to have strengthened rather than loosened family ties. A recent study of elderly people of a better income group showed a similar positive correlation between economic independence on the part of the elderly individual and his personal happiness and social adjustment.⁶ Eighty per cent of these subjects were residing with relatives, more than half with married sons or daughters, and two-thirds felt in varying degrees "unwanted" or "in the way." The most important single factor in their happiness (and all but a tenth were considered by themselves and the interviewer as essentially happy) was financial independence. Hundreds of letters in reply to the *Chicago Daily News'* inquiry as to where elderly people should live to be happiest indicated that both the aged and their families believed the answer to be "Alone." Is then financial independence enough or must there be physical or spatial independence of the elder generation? If the preference of modern society, where there is a notable absence of common occupational activity and economic necessity to compel, as was true in an earlier agrarian culture, the housing of three or more genera-

⁵ Agnes Leisy, "Families Receiving Aid to Dependent Children, October 1942," Part I. Race, Size, and Composition of Families and Reasons for Dependency, *Public Assistance Report No. 7*, Social Security Board, March, 1945.

⁶ L. Pearl Gardner, "Attitudes and Activities of the Middle-Aged and Aged," *Geriatrics*, 4 (Jan.-Feb. 1949) 33-49.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

tions under the same roof, is for separate living, what acceptable substitutions are being made or can be made for personal contact and emotional response? What community provisions have been developed or are indicated for the housing of elderly people, for their recreation, their health care, their participation in neighborhood and community affairs and for their emotional satisfactions following relationship losses or traumas? The Brown City, Michigan Townsend Club is reported to have adopted unanimously at a recent meeting a resolution to the effect that while its members, most of whom receive old age assistance at present, approved of the insurance principle, they did not want to give up their individual social workers in any transfer from assistance to pensions. What significance does this have for the family, the church, and other community organizations in social planning and social services?

Case records have a wealth of only partially tapped material on the effect upon the individual of differing agency policies concerning the right of the recipient to public assistance. What happens to children, for instance, who grow up in families receiving, for varying lengths of time and with varying degrees of restrictiveness, aid from public or private funds? In a certain large family of dependent children where a favorite diversion was furnished by a dilapidated victrola, there was great relief when the social worker reassured the mother that it was all right to play and enjoy this instrument. In the town from which they had just moved, the mother explained, the "relief lady" had advised them not to dress or act as if they were well off or having fun for fear of public criticism. "I tried to hold the children down," she said, "but they would bubble over. So I kept one young 'un at the door to watch out for visitors." The mother was obviously glad to have her children engage in frank rather than furtive pleasures and to begin to think of themselves as first class rather than second class citizens.

Some States regularly examine through case records or through the testimony of case workers the effect of agency policies upon

their clients. The Washington State Department of Public Welfare, in its biennial report for 1946 to 1948, considers selected standards of assistance and eligibility, one by one, in the light of case observation.⁸ It also explores the effect upon the recipients of public assistance, and at the same time upon the amount of revenue and the work load of the agency, of certain agency policies such as those relating to the new lien and recovery law. A substantial portion of terminations of old age assistance cases was found to be of people who left the rolls rather than face the possibility of a lien against their property. These were not necessarily, however, the least needy persons. Contrary to the expectation of the drafters of the law, the agency was experiencing no reduction in work load and the treasury no appreciable gain in revenue since the enforcement of the act was time-consuming and unproductive.⁹ The *Report* is a notable example of the use of summarized and concrete case-work data to show the legal and administrative implications of major policies and practices.

Another area of research that might be promoted by case-work findings has to do with the effect upon the individual of social pressures, mores, and institutions. Ralph Linton and Abram Kardiner collaborated as social anthropologist and psychiatrist at Columbia University on the interacting forces of personality and social situations.¹⁰ Similar collaboration was practiced in at least some of the series of four studies produced by the American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education on personality development of Negro youth.¹¹

⁸ "Public Welfare in the State of Washington," *Biennial Report*, Washington State Department of Public Welfare, Jan. 1, 1949, Chapter 2.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Chapter 6.

¹⁰ Abram Kardiner et al., *The Psychological Frontiers of Society*, 1945. Also *The Individual and His Society*, 1939, and Ralph Linton, *The Cultural Background of Personality*, 1945.

¹¹ Allison Davis and John Dollard, *Children of Bondage*; E. Franklin Frazier, *Negro Youth at the Crossways*; Charles S. Johnson, *Growing Up in the Black Belt*; W. Lloyd Warner, Buford H. Junker, and Walter A. Adams, *Color and Human Nature*, all 1940.

These and other groups of scientists and professional people, including social workers, have thus been studying the so-called normal or socially adjusted population in much the same way that clinical teams have examined the personal and social characteristics of the maladjusted population. Franz Alexander,¹² Karen Horney,¹³ and other psychiatrists and social workers have given considerable attention to the effect upon personality and social adjustment of the competitive struggle for a living. Many related studies are as yet unformulated and offer a challenge both to social workers and to social scientists in search of social truths.

Social case work is not merely a possible laboratory offering data for analysis and conclusion, it is a testing ground for hypotheses developed by the social scientist. Illustrations may be drawn from several of the social sciences. The political scientist, in connection with his examination in the abstract or in concrete instances of forms of government and specific kinds of statutes, may wish to relate governmental processes to the individuals in the community who are thus served. He will have an opportunity in California, Louisiana, and Colorado, for instance, to see the effect upon individual security of the enactment of old age pensions.¹⁴ The sociologist concerned with social problems may test his hypotheses regarding the family roots of delinquency or dependency against a study of case findings. The economist may like to examine the psychological springs and effects of such customary economic practices as relatives' responsibility for support.

Of distinct contribution to social psychology is the knowledge which case workers have of how attitudes form and what produces a change in them. For example, Dorothy Baruch, in her *Glass House of Prejudice*, supplements what the social scientists know and have ably presented regarding the social causes of prejudice by

indicating what the case worker has discovered about the personal roots of bias. The case worker has found that the individual suffering from emotional or economic deprivation, immaturity, insecurity, or a feeling of inferiority growing out of interpersonal relations is more apt to express hostility or aggressiveness toward representatives of less fortunately situated minorities or other groups in the community than is the secure and adjusted individual. The case worker has also found that strengthening of the individual's ego and security have lessened his need to fight other people or to prove himself better than they are.¹⁵

The relationship between public assistance and the social and economic structure of our country is far from clear because of the gap we have in the measurement of need and of adequacy of assistance in meeting need.¹⁶ The picture can now become clearer than it was formerly, however, as a result of the establishment through the co-operation of the Bureau of Labor Statistics and the Social Security Administration of national measuring rods in the form of the city worker's family budget for four and the budget for an aged couple constructed by the same techniques.¹⁷ But public assistance is only one of the government's programs of income maintenance. Nor can the programs for which the Government either furnishes money or sets standards, as in the case of minimum wages, be completely understood outside of the general framework of the wage structure of society. The contribution which case workers can make to the economist's exploration of need and in-

¹² Dorothy M. Baruch, *Glass House of Prejudice*, 1946.

¹³ Anne E. Geddes, "The Development through a Federal-State Research Program of Information about Public Assistance," paper given at the 108th Annual Meeting of the American Statistical Association, Cleveland, Ohio, December 27, 1948. (Mimeographed)

¹⁴ Lester S. Kellogg and Dorothy S. Brady, "The City Worker's Family Budget," Reprint from *Monthly Labor Review*, February 1948, Serial No. R 1909; "A Budget for an Elderly Couple," Reprinted from the *Social Security Bulletin*, February 1948. See also Anne E. Geddes, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

¹⁵ Franz Alexander, *Our Age of Unreason*, 1942.

¹⁶ Karen Horney, *Neurotic Personality of our Time*, 1937.

¹⁷ See also Washington State Department of Public Welfare, *op. cit.*

come is that of throwing light on the individual family, not the mythical average family or individual, but actual families by types, sizes, series of circumstances and geographic locations. It can help illuminate, for instance, as was done in Connecticut, the relative security and status of the family receiving aid to dependent children and his next-door neighbor, whose breadwinner is employed in industry or commerce or some other selected field of endeavor. It can show, as was done in Missouri, what inadequate payments lead to in the way of costs to the government and to the individual family. It can further demonstrate the meaning of adequate assistance in the lives of the members of a family as was pointed out in Louisiana. Some economists will have great interest in understanding the role of money in the lives of individuals.¹⁸

Social work, as Joseph P. Anderson points out, never analyzes social institutions in the abstract.¹⁹ It is interested in them only as they affect human beings and are the products of human needs and desires. Because it does, especially through its case-work method, know what is happening to human beings as a result of the operation of social forces, it has something to say that is worth listening to about social organization, legislation, and administration. It can say, with authority, for example, that individuals by and large are competent to manage their own affairs if they have the basic essentials of living and are accorded respect and confidence. It can say, conversely, that people

in distress express fears in many ways, some of them destructive to themselves or to society.

What we have been considering at such length is the contribution which case-work concepts and methods could make, and sometimes do make, to the content and methodology of social science. How can this great potential be fully realized? Long years of crossing to and fro between the sciences and the professions by lone researchers or practitioners has without doubt netted something in the way of insight and mutual understanding. The course for the future, however, it seems to me, lies in carefully planned team research, with administrative provision for organizing the technicians and subject matter specialists into a working and sharing group. Among the problems to be overcome in using the genuine team approach, in contrast to calling in an occasional consultant from the other side of the line, are those of communication, agreement upon a single conceptual scheme or framework on which to base the working hypotheses of the research, keeping functional lines clear, and allowing for full group discussion without impeding too long the arrival at group decisions or the acceptance by the group of individual technical decisions.²⁰ Knowledge and skill in group dynamics are essential. Fundamental also to all studies involving the individual are the "orderly thinking and disciplined feeling" demanded alike in social case work and in social science. What the case worker adds is a special ability "to extract *valid* information from people" and because he knows how to interpret non-verbal responses along with the verbal "to draw valid inferences from the data thus

¹⁸ See Mrs. Mildred Fischer, "What Inadequate Public Assistance Means to People," paper given at the annual conference of the Missouri Association for Social Welfare, June 1947 (mimeographed); Val M. Keating, "How Adequate Should Public Assistance Be?" paper given at National Conference of Social Work, Atlantic City, 1948 (mimeographed); Elma H. Ashton, "The Implications of the Social Security Act for Social Work Agency Practice" and "Money-Giving in Social Work Agencies," *Public Assistance Report No. 11*, Social Security Administration, February 1947; Jane M. Hoey, "The Significance of the Money Payment in Public Assistance," *Social Security Bulletin*, September 1944. The Connecticut and Louisiana materials are unpublished.

¹⁹ Joseph P. Anderson, "The Contribution of

Social Work to the Solution of Social and Economic Problems," *Tennessee Public Welfare Record*, April 1949, pp. 61-63, 69-71.

²⁰ Gordon Blackwell in a talk before the D. C. Sociological Society in May, 1949, thus described the University of North Carolina's experience in genuine team research by social scientists, psychologists, and radio technicians. The proposed Association of Research Workers in Social Work has as one of its objectives "conscious development of a closer relationship between social work research and research in related professional fields and in the social sciences." (Mimeographed Proposal, p. 1.)

obtained," as Charlotte Towle points out.²¹ Or as Eveline Burns puts it, "The real problem is to develop people who know what questions to ask and how to go about getting the answers."²²

²¹ Charlotte Towle, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

²² Eveline M. Burns, "Reconversion and its Implications for the Schools of Social Work," *Social*

Social case workers neither have all the answers nor have a corner on the art of asking and recording. They do have substantial contributions to make in any social science-social profession team approach to the study of modern society.

Service Review, XIX (June 1945), p. 199, quoted by Charlotte Towle in *op. cit.*

BIAS, PROBABILITY, AND TRIAL BY JURY

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THERE has recently been developing in United States Supreme Court decisions a new attitude toward trial by jury, an idea that trial juries and grand juries alike ought to be bodies truly representative of the community, in the sense of being cross-sections or representative samples from the community.

It is the purpose of this paper (I) to trace the development of this concept in Supreme Court opinions from its inception in 1940 to the present, and (II) to point out the social and economic biases in present methods of jury selection which gave rise to the principle of the representative jury and which that principle will wipe out if it is enforced.

I

Trial by jury is guaranteed as a fundamental right by the Constitution of the United States and by the constitution of each state. Since it was first recognized in the Magna Carta, however, the concept of trial by jury has undergone progressive modification. Blackstone was careful to point out that in the English law it was a privilege and not a right. Our Constitution made the privilege into a right for criminal proceedings in United States courts.

Most recent modifications of the idea of jury trial have come about through changes in the notion of what constitutes a proper jury, so that today the idea of trial by jury and the idea of what constitutes a proper jury are inextricably intertwined. The origi-

nal Constitution provided only that "The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury . . ." [Article III, Section 2], and the concept of jury trial was then modified in the Sixth Amendment by defining a proper jury as an impartial one.

A new series of fundamental modifications of the concept of jury trial is now under way in the United States. It began with a decision of the United States Supreme Court in the case of *Smith v. Texas* in November, 1940, and the revolution it is working in the concept of jury trial is being made through modification of the idea of what constitutes a proper jury.

The case of *Smith v. Texas* [311 U.S. 128]¹ concerns a Texas Negro who was indicted and convicted of rape. The conviction was appealed on the ground that it was based on an indictment which violated that provision of the Fourteenth Amendment which guarantees that "No State shall . . . deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." Smith contended that equal protection had been denied him because in the county in which he was indicted Negroes had intentionally and systematically been excluded from grand jury service solely on account of their race and color. It has long been settled that a conviction based upon an indictment returned

¹ All citations of this form are to *United States Reports*, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., the first number referring to the volume and the second to the page.

by a jury so selected is a denial of equal protection [e.g., *Pierre v. Louisiana*, 306 U.S. 354], and this was not challenged by the state. But both the trial court and the Texas Court of Appeals held that the evidence failed to uphold the charge of racial discrimination.

The opinion of the Supreme Court, written by Justice Black, provided the two essentials for the present modification of the concept of jury trial:

(1) It stated definitively, apparently for the first time, the principle of the representative jury: "It is part of the established tradition in the use of juries as instruments of public justice that the jury be a body truly representative of the community." [311 U.S. 130]

(2) It provided a probability basis for assessing the representativeness of the jury. It was established that in Harris County, Texas, where Smith had been indicted and convicted, Negroes constituted over 20 per cent of the population and over 10 per cent of those paying poll taxes. Therefore between 10 and 20 per cent of those eligible for grand jury duty in the county were Negroes. Yet the court clerk testifying from court records covering the years from 1931 through 1938 showed that of 512 persons summoned for grand jury duty only 18 were Negroes, and that of 384 grand jurors actually serving only 5 were Negroes.

The difficulty of the petitioner in trying to establish his case was to prove that the deficit of Negroes in the grand jury was the result of intentional and systematic exclusion, and here the Supreme Court ruled that he need not do so and introduced a basically statistical argument. "Chance and accident alone," it said, "could hardly have brought about the listing for grand jury service of so few Negroes from among the thousands shown by undisputed evidence to possess the legal qualifications for jury service. . . . The state argues that the testimony of the commissioners themselves shows that there was no arbitrary or systematic exclusion. And it is true that two of the three commissioners who drew the September, 1938, panel testified to that effect. . . . But even if their

testimony were given the greatest possible effect, and their situation considered typical of that of the 94 commissioners who did not testify, we would still feel compelled to reverse the decision below. . . . If there has been discrimination, whether accomplished ingeniously or ingenuously, the conviction cannot stand." [311 U.S. 131, 132]

In other words, a grand jury may be interpreted as a representative sample from a population consisting of persons eligible for grand jury duty, and if the grand jury can be shown to be unrepresentative in a probability sense, then it has been shown to be an improper grand jury. Moreover, so far as qualifications are concerned, the same principles apply to trial jurors and grand jurors alike. Let us apply a test of significance here, to see what probability theory has to say about the representativeness of the 1931-1938 Harris County grand juries. Out of 512 persons summoned for grand jury duty, 18, or 3.5 per cent, were Negroes. If we assume that only 10 per cent of the population eligible for grand jury service was Negro, we find that the chance of getting 18 or fewer Negroes out of 512 persons randomly drawn from the population of eligibles is very much less than .001.

In the case of *Smith v. Texas* the ruling involved racial discrimination and was based upon a very clear constitutional point involving the Fourteenth Amendment. Other Supreme Court opinions, however, continued to apply the principle of the representative jury and further to extend the list of characteristics in terms of which a jury must be representative.

The case of *Glasser v. United States* [315 U.S. 60], January, 1942, provided the next important extensions of the notion of what constitutes a proper jury. Glasser contended that he had been denied an impartial trial because of the exclusion from the petit jury panel of all women not members of the Illinois League of Women Voters. He swore that all the names of women placed in the box from which the panel was drawn were taken from a list given the court by the Illinois League of Women Voters, and prepared exclusively from its membership, and

contended that women not members of the League but otherwise qualified were systematically excluded from the panel.

The Supreme Court opinion in the *Glasser* case, delivered by Justice Murphy, further modified the principle of the representative jury in two ways:

(3) It laid down that selection of jurors should be at large from the community, and not from the membership of particular private organizations or a special group or class. The exercise of the duty of selection "must always accord with the fact that the proper functioning of the jury system requires that the jury be a 'body truly representative of the community,' and not the organ of any special group or class. . . . The deliberate selection of jurors from the membership of particular private organizations definitely does not conform to the traditional requirements of jury trial." [315 U.S. 85, 86]

(4) It specifically recognized the existence and probable effects of unconscious class bias, something which had of course been known to social scientists for decades but which was revolutionary in legal circles in which bias is defined as conscious bias. "The deliberate selection of jurors from the membership of particular private organizations definitely does not conform to the traditional requirements of jury trial. No matter how high-principled and imbued with a desire to inculcate public virtue such organizations may be, the dangers inherent in such a method of selection are the more real when the members of those organizations, from training or otherwise, acquire a bias in favor of the prosecution. The jury selected from the membership of such an organization is then not only the organ of a special class, but, in addition, it is also openly partisan." [315 U.S. 86]

It was in the Supreme Court opinion in the case of *Thiel v. Southern Pacific Co.* [328 U.S. 217], delivered by Justice Murphy in May, 1946, that the most sweeping and obvious extensions of the principle of the representative jury were made. Thiel brought suit in a California state court against the Southern Pacific Co. for damages for al-

leged negligence in its treatment of him while a passenger. He requested a jury trial, and then moved to strike the entire jury panel on the grounds that "mostly business executives or those having the employer's viewpoint are purposely selected on said panel, thus giving a majority representation to one class of occupation and discriminating against other occupations and classes, particularly the employees and those in the poorer classes who constitute, by far, the great majority of citizens eligible for jury service. . . ." [328 U.S. 219] The issue was now wide open before the Supreme Court, as to whether the existence of unconscious economic bias was to be recognized by the Court and admitted as grounds for striking an economically unrepresentative jury as improperly constituted.

In the opinion, delivered again by Justice Murphy—

(5) The principle of representativeness was extended specifically to include *economic* representativeness of the jury. "The undisputed evidence in this case demonstrates a failure to abide by the proper rules and principles of jury selection. Both the clerk of the court and the jury commissioner testified that they deliberately and intentionally excluded from the jury lists all persons who work for a daily wage. . . . Wage earners, including those who are paid by the day, constitute a very substantial portion of the community, a portion that cannot be intentionally and systematically excluded in whole or in part without doing violence to the democratic nature of the jury system. Were we to sanction an exclusion of this nature we would encourage whatever desires those responsible for the selection of jury panels may have to discriminate against persons of low economic and social status. We would breathe life into any latent tendencies to establish the jury as the instrument of the economically and socially privileged. That we refuse to do." [328 U.S. 221, 223, 224]

(6) The principle of representativeness was extended by a list of "background" or controlling factors with respect to which juries ought to be representative (a list not

unlike the list of controlling background factors for a stratified representative sample), and by an implicit reiteration of the probability basis for assessing the representativeness of a jury. "The American tradition of trial by jury, considered in connection with either criminal or civil proceedings, necessarily contemplates an impartial jury drawn from a cross-section of the community. This does not mean, of course, that every jury must contain representatives of all the economic, social, religious, racial, political, and geographical groups of the community; frequently such complete representation would be impossible. But it does mean that prospective jurors shall be selected by court officials without systematic and intentional exclusion of any of these groups. Recognition must be given to the fact that those eligible for jury service are to be found in every stratum of society. Jury competence is an individual rather than a group or class matter. That fact lies at the very heart of the jury system. To disregard it is to open the door to class distinctions and discriminations which are abhorrent to the democratic ideals of trial by jury." [328 U.S. 220]

(7) Finally, in the case of *Ballard v. United States*, the representative principle was explicitly extended to include sex as well. In the Supreme Court opinion, delivered by Justice Douglas in December, 1946, the statement runs thus: "The systematic and intentional exclusion of women, like the exclusion of a racial group, or an economic or social class, deprives the jury system of the broad base it was designed by Congress to have in our democratic society." [329 U.S. 195]

II

The principle of the representative jury was developed presumably to wipe out an existing evil of economic and social bias operating in grand juries and trial juries throughout the nation. The extent of that evil, however, can be assessed only by determining how much bias juries selected by present methods actually exhibit. The pragmatic importance of the principle of the representative jury, in other words, depends

upon the changes which it will introduce if actually put into operation in the selection of jurors and grand jurors. These changes can be assessed only by determining how unrepresentative juries are at present. This paper now provides such an assessment of the economic bias of persons nominated for grand jury service in the United States Criminal Court, Southern District of California, County of Los Angeles, for the years 1935 to 1947 inclusive.

During these 13 years, 1,563 persons were nominated for grand jury duty, though not all of them served. Since those who actually served were chosen by lot from the nominees, however, a consideration of the list of nominees provides a fair indication of the nature of persons chosen for and actually serving as federal grand jurors in this area.

Each person nominated for grand jury duty swears to certain facts concerning himself, and among these facts is his occupation. It is possible, therefore, to get an idea of the economic status of grand jury nominees by classifying them by occupation.

Columns 1, 3, 4, and 5 of Table I show the results of classifying by occupation the 1,176 nominees who returned their occupation on the official form which nominees are required to fill out. The occupational groups are those of the 1940 U. S. Census, except that some of the census groups have been combined for convenience. The original forms, filled out and sworn to by the nominees themselves, were used, and the standard census index was used in the assignment of occupations to classes.

Column 1 in Table I shows the occupational distribution of persons who were actually employed when nominated. Column 3 classifies housewives by their husbands' occupations, on the assumption that husband's and wife's economic attitudes will tend to be alike and to reflect the husband's occupational level. Column 4 gives the distribution of retired nominees by their last occupation. Column 5 gives the total of Columns 1, 3, and 4.

We now need an indication of the occupational distribution of all persons who were at this time eligible for federal grand

jury duty in the County of Los Angeles. Under California law a juror to be competent must be a citizen of the United States over the age of 21, a resident of the state and county for one year preceding nomination, possessed of his natural faculties, of ordinary intelligence and not decrepit, and possessed of sufficient knowledge of the English language. [California Code of Civil Procedure, Section 198] We have no occupational distribution for a group so precisely defined, but we do have in the 1940 Census an occupational distribution for a group

nominees by occupation, while Column 6 shows the distribution which would have resulted had the nominees represented a true cross-section of the community. We have a column of actual numbers and another column of expected numbers, to which we can apply the chi-square test of goodness of fit. In comparing Columns 5 and 6 we find $\chi^2 = 2349.4$ for eight degrees of freedom, which indicates that the probability that the actual distribution was got as a sample from the community at large is exceedingly remote. The .001 point for χ^2 for

TABLE I. OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS NOMINATED FOR GRAND JURY DUTY IN THE UNITED STATES CRIMINAL COURT, SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA, COUNTY OF LOS ANGELES, 1935 TO 1947

	Employed		House-	Re-	Total	Labor	Differ-
	(1)	(2)	wives	tired	(5)	Force	ence
			(3)	(4)		(6)	(7)
Professional and semiprofessional workers	203	(104.0)	69	15	287	(129.4)	157.6
Farmers and farm managers	34	(8.8)	2	—	36	(11.0)	25.0
Proprietors, managers, and officials	495	(113.3)	84	28	607	(141.0)	466.0
Clerical, sales, and kindred workers	181	(225.0)	23	2	206	(279.9)	- 73.9
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers	24	(134.3)	2	—	26	(167.2)	-141.2
Operatives, and kindred workers	1	(158.9)	1	—	2	(197.7)	-195.7
Domestic and protective service workers	3	(39.7)	1	4	8	(49.5)	- 41.5
Other service workers	4	(98.4)	—	—	4	(122.4)	-118.4
Laborers, farm and other	—	(62.6)	—	—	—	(77.9)	- 77.9
Total	945	(945.0)	182	49	1176	(1176.0)	

closely approximating the desired one and eminently a cross-section of the community, viz., those persons in the labor force who were over 21 years of age.

Column 2 in Table I shows what the occupational distribution of the 945 employed grand jury nominees would have been had their occupational distribution been that of persons over 21 years old in the labor force. Column 6 shows a similar distribution, but based on all 1,176 nominees for which occupational data were available. Column 7 shows the discrepancy between Columns 5 and 6.

Let us now apply the probability basis for assessing the representativeness of these grand jury nominees which the Supreme Court itself inaugurated in the case of *Smith v. Texas*. Column 5 in Table I shows the actual distribution of 1935-1947 grand jury

eight degrees of freedom is but 26.125. If the reader objects to the classification of housewives by their husbands' occupations, he can make a similar test based only upon the column for employed nominees in Table I, and he will find in this case that $\chi^2 = 1889.6$, again for eight degrees of freedom.

A comparison of Columns 5 and 6 in Table I reveals the economic bias in the occupational distribution of these federal grand jury nominees. There are 287 professional and semiprofessional workers, an excess of 158 over the number which should have been nominated on the principle of the representative jury. The excess is even more marked for proprietors, managers, and officials, the actual number being 607, over four times as great as the representative number of 141.

Deficits on the lower economic levels are just as pronounced as excesses in the higher. Only 26 craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers were nominated in 13 years, whereas 167 should have been. Only two operatives were nominated in the 13 years, whereas nearly 200 should have been. An even dozen service workers were nominated, whereas for representativeness 172 should have appeared in the list, and not a single laborer, farm or otherwise, appears in the list at all.

It needs to be pointed out that the bias shown by Table I is a bias in the selection of persons who *might* serve on the grand jury. Not all persons nominated actually serve; for some are excused and some are not needed. But no one not nominated *can* serve, and therefore Table I shows without the slightest doubt that the lower occupational and economic classes are systematically and with remarkable efficiency excluded from the federal grand jury in this court.

In view of the well-known correlations between socio-economic status and political and economic attitudes, there is a strong presumption that the occupational bias shown in Table I resulted in political and economic bias as well. For the sake of illustration, however, let us investigate with the meager material available the probable distribution of labor *v.* management attitudes in the list of grand jury nominees, and contrast it with the probable distribution in the list of nominees which would have resulted from the principle of the representative jury.

In January, 1946, the Fortune Poll gave a distribution of answers to the following question, based on a nationwide sample: "Suppose you had been acting as a referee in labor-management disputes during the past three months, do you think your decisions would probably have been more often

in favor of labor's side, or more often in favor of management's side?" The distribution of answers was as follows:²

	Total	Executives	Farmers	Workers
Favor labor	25.7%	18.2%	24.3%	38.9%
Favor management	44.7%	62.2%	50.2%	30.8%
Don't know	29.6%	19.6%	25.5%	30.3%

We see from these answers that the proportion of workers who would have favored labor is over twice as large as the proportion of executives who would have done so. Conversely, the proportion of executives who would have favored management is over twice the proportion of workers who would have done so.

To get a more precise idea of the extent of the bias shown by Table I, let us apply the percentages given by the Fortune Poll to the actual and the representative distributions of Table I. Let us assume that by executives Roper means proprietors, managers, and officials, and let us for the sake of argument even assume that professional and semiprofessional workers are to be classed with Roper's "workers." If the actual list of nominees then reflected national sentiment as of January, 1946, there would be among the 1,176 nominees 327 who would have favored labor and 560 who would have favored management, or a ratio of 5 to 3 in favor of management. Had the nominees been chosen on the principle of the representative jury, however, they would have exhibited a slight pro-labor majority, for there would have been among them 427 persons who would have favored labor and 409 who would have favored management. This bias, moreover, has not operated in a vacuum, for this group of nominees voted indictments in scores of cases involving a labor *v.* management issue.

² Reported in the *Public Opinion Quarterly*, X, 121, Spring, 1946.

TOLERANCE AND PERSONALITY NEEDS: A STUDY OF THE LIBERALIZATION OF ETHNIC ATTITUDES AMONG MINORITY GROUP COLLEGE STUDENTS

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THIS is a preliminary research report on certain social and psychological factors involved in the development and modification of ethnic attitudes¹ among undergraduate students at a metropolitan university. The students in our sample are, we have reason to believe, typical of American undergraduates in that they are caught in a struggle of opposing ethnic ideologies. At home they encounter a relatively prejudiced attitude toward ethnic outgroups, while at college they find a relatively tolerant attitude. Our students are, however, atypical in the magnitude of their attitude change in the equalitarian direction and in the fact that most of them are themselves members of disprivileged ethnic minorities. In this paper we shall confine ourselves to a discussion of the Jewish students and parents in our sample and to observations made upon them by means of a questionnaire and the Rorschach test.

HYPOTHESES

This study is designed to determine whether the attitudinal behavior of our particular sample is in accordance with certain hypotheses which we have derived from the findings of previous investigators² who have

studied a variety of other samples. While there is by no means complete unanimity among the investigators of ethnic prejudice, many of the researches published to date³ report results which lend support to the hypotheses presented below. We are not in a position to test the validity of these hypotheses for the whole of American society; but we shall see whether they apply to the minority group college students who are the subject of this report.

The hypotheses to which we refer are the following:

1. For most groups in American society there is a common general attitude factor underlying attitudes toward specific ethnic outgroups; and, in the case of members of disprivileged ethnic minorities, this common factor also underlies the attitude toward the ethnic ingroup. Thus, persons

port," in E. Simmel, ed., *Anti-Semitism: A Social Disease*, New York: International Universities Press, 1946, pp. 96-124; E. Frenkel-Brunswick, D. J. Levinson, and R. N. Sanford, "The Antidemocratic Personality," in T. M. Newcomb, E. L. Hartley, et al., eds., *Readings in Social Psychology*, New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1947, pp. 531-541; E. L. Hartley, *Problems in Prejudice*, New York: King's Crown Press, 1946; G. Murphy and R. Likert, *Public Opinion and the Individual*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1938.

*For summary and evaluation of recent empirical studies, see: N. Glazer, "The Social Scientists Dissect Prejudice," *Commentary*, 1 (May, 1946), 79-85; J. Himelhoch, "Is There a Bigot Personality?" *Commentary*, 3 (March, 1947), 277-284; E. L. Horowitz, "Race Attitudes," in O. Klineberg, ed., *Characteristics of the American Negro*, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944, pp. 139-247; A. M. Rose, *Studies in Reduction of Prejudice*, Chicago: American Council on Race Relations, 1947; R. A. Schermerhorn, *These Our People*, Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1949, pp. 479-509; R. M. Williams, Jr., *The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions*, New York: Social Science Research Council, 1947.

*The writer wishes to acknowledge the helpful criticism of Profs. R. M. MacIver and E. L. Hartley who read earlier drafts of this paper.

¹The term "ethnic attitude" as used in this paper refers to attitude toward any "racial," religious, or national subgroup of American society.

²N. W. Ackerman and M. Jahoda, "Toward a Dynamic Interpretation of Anti-Semitic Attitudes," mimeographed; G. W. Allport and B. M. Kramer, "Some Roots of Prejudice," *Journal of Psychology*, 22 (July, 1946), 9-39; E. Frenkel-Brunswick and R. N. Sanford, "Some Personality Correlates of Antisemitism," *Journal of Psychology*, 20 (1945), 271-291; E. Frenkel-Brunswick and R. N. Sanford, "The Anti-Semitic Personality: A Research Re-

disliking one ethnic group tend to dislike all; and tolerance is similarly generalized. This does not deny the fact that some groups may evoke more or less of the common response in certain individuals than do other groups. Nor does it deny that attitudes toward different groups vary qualitatively as well as in the quantity of hostility or friendliness. This paper is, however, exclusively concerned with the latter quantitative aspect of ethnic attitudes.

2. In most groups in American society, including both privileged and disprivileged ethnic groups, generalized ethnic prejudice expresses certain needs arising from what is here called the "self-rejection syndrome"; conversely, a tolerant or friendly general attitude expresses the needs of the "self-accepting" personality. This hypothesis presupposes two conditions which are rather general in American society: (1) the group's culture provides the developing individual with some choice of attitudes, ranging from more prejudiced to more tolerant, so that he may select the attitude most congenial to his personality needs and (2) the group's culture does *not* provide alternative more satisfying outlets for the needs of the self-rejecting personality.

Corollary A: In members of a disprivileged group, the personality needs which foster prejudice toward outgroups also engender hostility toward the ethnic ingroup.

Corollary B: In the case of students who go from relatively prejudiced homes to a relatively tolerant college, those with "self-accepting" personalities will tend to deviate considerably from their families in the tolerant direction when exposed to a more tolerant college attitude; conversely, students with "self-rejecting" personalities will tend to cling to the family ideology and to change less when exposed to a more tolerant college ideology.

THE SAMPLE AND THE INSTRUMENTS OF OBSERVATION

To test these hypotheses, a questionnaire and projective personality tests were administered in the spring of 1948 to eight undergraduate sociology classes in the Washington Square College of New York University.

This paper is concerned with the test performance of the 169 Jewish students in the N.Y.U. group and of the parents of the 68 students who brought back questionnaires answered by one or both parents.⁴ About 60% of the students are girls; about 80% have at least one foreign-born parent; and about 70% classify their fathers as professionals, business executives, or proprietors. Some reference will also be made to a study conducted by the author in the spring of 1947 in which a questionnaire was given to 80 young men and women in a Jewish community center in New York City.

Our results will be compared with those presented in the preliminary published reports of the University of California Public Opinion Study, a large-scale research project of several years' duration under the direction of T. W. Adorno, E. Frenkel-Brunswick, D. J. Levinson, and R. N. Sanford.⁵ This study, which stimulated the author's present research, involves a variety of Gentile, native-born, white, predominantly middle-class collegiate and non-collegiate groups.

Figure 1 describes the author's questionnaire, which consists of the California Study Questionnaire, Form 60A, and certain scales of his own construction.⁶ Most of the items are statements which are scored in terms of the respondent's intensity of agreement or disagreement.

The California F scale, which we shall refer to as a measure of "self-rejection," is of special interest because it has isolated a personality syndrome which has repeatedly been found to correlate with prejudice toward ethnic outgroups.⁷ According to the

⁴ Since the attitude and personality scores of the students with parental questionnaires are practically identical with the scores of the students without parental questionnaires, it appears unlikely that selective influences were operating, so far as the students were concerned, in determining the types of parents which were included in the sample. It is, however, quite possible that there was a self-selective bias introduced by the parents themselves.

⁵ See Note 2.

⁶ The validity and reliability of the scales will be discussed later under the heading, "Interpretation."

⁷ The following are examples of items from the F scale: "Obedience and respect for authority are

authors, the ten main variables which guided scale construction were: "conventional values, authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression, anti-intracception, superstition-stereotypy, pseudo-toughness, power, cynicism, projectivity, and sex."⁸ In different terminology, one can say that the person who scores high on the F scale exhibits the following seven traits: repression of hostile impulses, repression of sexual impulses, drive for power and status, rigidity of emotional control, conventionality, emotional immaturity, and lack of insight.⁹ The high F scorer makes a rigid division in his personality structure between a conscious authorized

deeper motives or conflicts, we call him "self-rejecting." The low F person, on the other hand, tends to integrate the impulse-self and the social-self in a unified conscious self-image. He understands his motivations; accepts his hostile, sexual-affectional, and dependency needs; and works out his anxieties and conflicts on the conscious level. We call this more integrated individual "self-accepting" because he accepts and acknowledges all aspects of his personality. These are, of course, ideal types—terminal points on a theoretical continuum—and real persons will be found to fall somewhere in between the two extremes.

FIG. 1. ENUMERATION OF SCALES IN ANONYMOUS QUESTIONNAIRE ADMINISTERED TO N.Y.U. STUDENTS AND PARENTS

1. Anti-Negro Prejudice Scale, 11 items including:
 - (a) Anti-Negro subscale of California Ethnocentrism Scale (6 items)
 - (b) Author's Anti-Negro subscale (5 items)
2. Author's Anti-Catholic Prejudice Scale, 6 items
3. Author's Anti-Gentile Prejudice Scale, 8 items
4. Total Ethnic Outgroup Prejudice Scale, for Jewish respondents 25 items including:
 - (a) Anti-Negro Prejudice Scale (11 items)
 - (b) Author's Anti-Catholic Prejudice Scale (6 items)
 - (c) Author's Anti-Gentile Prejudice Scale (8 items)
5. Modified Bogardus Social Distance Scale, 18 groups listed
6. California E (Ethnocentrism) Scale, for Jewish respondents 14 items including:
 - (a) California Anti-Negro subscale (6 items)
 - (b) California M subscale (8 items, most of them relating to nationalism)
 - (c) The E scale also includes an Anti-Semitic subscale, which was *not* included by the author in computing the E scores of the Jewish respondents
7. Anti-Semitism Scale, 10 items including:
 - (a) Anti-Semitic subscale of California E scale (6 items)
 - (b) Author's Anti-Semitic subscale (4 items)
8. Author's Anti-White Prejudice Scale, 5 items
9. California PEC (Political and Economic Conservatism) Scale, 10 items
10. California F (Antidemocratic Personality) Scale, 30 items

social-self and an unconscious unauthorized impulse-self. Because he represses or dissociates the impulsive aspect of his personality and therefore cannot look into his own

the most important virtues children should learn." "When a person has a problem or worry, it is best for him not to think about it, but to keep busy with more cheerful things." "Sex crimes, such as rape and attacks on children, deserve more than mere imprisonment; such criminals ought to be publicly whipped, or worse."

⁸E. Frenkel-Brunswick, D. J. Levinson, and R. N. Sanford, "The Antidemocratic Personality," *Readings in Social Psychology*, p. 536.

⁹The author has translated the California Study categories into concepts with which he is more familiar. In doing so, he may in certain cases have unintentionally modified the original meaning.

QUESTIONNAIRE RESULTS

Our first finding is that these Jewish students are on the average amazingly tolerant and have on the average deviated far from their parents' ethnic ideology. The mean student Ethnocentrism score is only 14% of the maximum possible score as against 41% for the parents, which, in turn, is less than the Gentile means of the California Study, which range from 50% to 57%. If we can assume that these students started with attitudes close to those of their parents, then we can say that extra-parental influences, including those associated with college, have changed the attitudes of almost all of the students in the tolerant direction. The

TABLE 1. INTERCORRELATIONS OF ATTITUDE AND PERSONALITY SCORES IN SPECIFIED GROUPS

Scores to be Correlated	Calif. Gentile Groups ¹	169 Jewish Students at N.Y.U.		80 Young Men & Women at Jewish Community Center ²	
	r	C ³	P <	C ³	P <
Anti-Negro & Anti-Catholic		.34	.02	.40	.05
Anti-Negro & Anti-Gentile		.53	.001	.45	.02
Anti-Catholic & Anti-Gentile		.47	.001	.49	.01
Bogardus & E		.46	.001		
Bogardus & Total Ethnic Outgroup Prejudice		.47	.001		
Student E & Parent E ⁴		.57	.001		
F & E	.60-.75	.68	.001		
F & Total Ethnic Outgroup Prejudice		.55	.001		
F & Bogardus		.35	.01		
F & Conservatism	.50	.46	.001		
E & Conservatism	.50	.54	.001		
Student F & Amount of Student Tolerant Deviation from Parental Attitude (Parent E minus Student E) ⁵		-.67	.01		
Anti-Semitism & Anti-Negro		.53	.001	.43	.05
Anti-Semitism & Anti-Catholic		.38	.01		
Anti-Semitism & Anti-Gentile		.52	.001	.44	.02
Anti-Semitism & E	.80	.61	.001		
Anti-Semitism & Total Ethnic Outgroup Prejudice		.59	.001	.54	.001
Anti-Semitism & Bogardus		.34	.02		
Anti-Semitism & F	.60-.75	.55	.001		

¹ Source of data: E. Frenkel-Brunswick, D. J. Levinson, and R. N. Sanford, *op. cit.*, pp. 531-541. The number of subjects in the California samples totals several hundred.

² The scales used in the Jewish community center study are not identical with the scales used in the N.Y.U. study, but are similar enough to justify comparisons.

³ In the N.Y.U. and community center samples, the author computed coefficients of mean square contingency and applied the chi square test of significance. The corrected value of C, as given in the table, is the uncorrected value of C divided by the maximum possible value of C (0.817 for a 3 X 3 table). This gives a value which could vary from -1 to +1, as does r. The N.Y.U. scores are not absolutely comparable with the California scores because in the California Study respondents were given scores for omitted items, while in the N.Y.U. group the few respondents who omitted any item in a given scale were not given a score for that scale.

⁴ This correlation is based upon the student and parent E scores of the 62 students whose parents answered all of the items in the E scale. When a student brought back questionnaires from both parents, the mean of their two scores was used as the "parent score."

⁵ This correlation involved the following steps: (1) Those students were selected who had student F, student E, and parent E scores. (2) The one student who deviated in the prejudiced direction from per parent E score was eliminated from the sample, as were those students with very high or very low parent E scores. This left 34 students who had the possibility of attaining equal tolerant deviations. (3) For these 34, the student E score was subtracted from the parent E score and the difference was correlated with the student F score.

surprising fact is that only one of the 68 students who brought back parental questionnaires had an E (Ethnocentrism) score which was *higher* than the mean of her parents' scores. Despite the student deviation from parents, the parents remain as one of the most important determinants of their children's ethnic philosophy. The parental attitude exerts a considerable influence upon the *relative standing* of the student in Ethnocentrism. The relatively bigoted parents tend to send forth relatively bigoted children and

the equalitarians (as measured by the parental group norm) tend to produce equalitarians (as measured by the filial group norm.) This is shown in Table 1 by the fact that the contingency coefficient of the student E and the parent E scores is 0.57.¹⁰

¹⁰ In the case of this and other coefficients cited in this article (which range from 0.34 to 0.68) the size and standard errors of the coefficients justify the inference of an association between the variables, but much of the variance is still left unaccounted for.

When we turn to the F personality scores, we find that the Jewish students are on the average much more self-accepting than their parents. The mean student and parent F scores are respectively 27% and 58% of the maximum possible scores, while the California Gentile means range from 52% to 62%.¹¹

On the basis of the F scores, it appears that the Jewish children differ markedly from their parents in such basic personality areas as insight, sexuality, and aggression. Moreover, there is no significant correlation between the student F and the parent F scores.

In the community center and N.Y.U. samples, as shown in Table 1, the intercorrelations of the anti-Negro, anti-Catholic, and anti-Gentile scales range from 0.34 to 0.53, indicating, as previous researchers have also found, a general ethnic intolerance factor underlying specific outgroup prejudices. As might be expected, the students show less hostility toward their own group than toward others, their mean anti-Semitism score being 4% of the maximum possible score. In both Jewish samples, the individuals who accept derogatory stereotypes of Negroes, Catholics, and Gentiles also tend to attribute undesirable traits to Jews. Anti-Semitism is positively correlated with all measures of outgroup prejudice, the coefficients ranging from 0.34 to 0.61. It is associated with specific prejudices and with generalized intolerance of outgroups (Ethnocentrism, Bogardus Social Distance, and Total Ethnic Outgroup Prejudice); with hostility toward other minorities as well as with dislike for the dominant Gentile majority. These intercorrelations are consistent with our first hypothesis, in which we asserted that persons disliking one ethnic group tend to dislike all and that, if they are members of a disprivileged ethnic minority, such persons will also tend to be prejudiced toward their own group.

We now turn to the questionnaire evidence concerning the psychological dynamics of ethnic attitudes. According to our

second hypothesis, in both dominant and minority groups, general ethnic intolerance expresses the needs of the self-rejecting personality (providing certain cultural conditions are present) and general tolerance follows from self-acceptance.

The California study of Gentile groups reported correlations between F and E (Ethnocentrism) ranging from 0.60 to 0.75 (Table 1.) In the N.Y.U. Jewish sample, the contingency of F and E was 0.68; F and Total Ethnic Outgroup Prejudice was 0.55; F and the Bogardus Social Distance Scale was 0.35. Thus, the psychological correlates of outgroup prejudice appear to be basically the same for the California Gentile samples and for our Jewish sample.

The same statement can be made in regard to the personality traits which underly politico-economic conservatism. In both the California Gentile samples and the N.Y.U. Jewish sample, correlations of about 0.50 are found between F and Conservatism. The association is not, however, so close as that between F and E.

The relationship between F and general outgroup prejudice is consistent with our second hypothesis. The fact that F is also correlated with Anti-Semitism in the Jewish sample (the coefficient is 0.55) is in accordance with Corollary A, in which we stated that, in members of a disprivileged group, the same personality needs engender ingroup and outgroup prejudice.

In Corollary B we contended that students with self-accepting personalities would tend to deviate considerably from their families in the tolerant direction when exposed to a more tolerant college attitude; conversely, that self-rejecting students would tend to cling to the parental ideology and so would deviate less. If this were true, tolerant deviation from parents would be inversely proportional to degree of self-rejection. To determine whether Corollary B held true for our sample, the student F score was correlated with the amount of student tolerant deviation from his parents (the parent E score minus the student E score). Since the contingency coefficient is -0.67, the corollary appears to be confirmed so far as the students in our sample are concerned.

¹¹ Source of California Study data: "Key to Form 60A, U.C. Pub. Opinion Study, March, 1947."

TABLE 2. COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES OF RORSCHACH TEST RECORDS IN WHICH SPECIFIED SIGNS APPEAR, BY HIGHEST AND LOWEST SCORING GROUPS ON QUESTIONNAIRE SCALES

Rorschach Sign	Percentage of Rorschach Records		C.R. of A% - B% Difference	P <
	Gp. A High Scorers ¹	Gp. B Low Scorers ¹		

SIGNS OF REPRESSION OF HOSTILE IMPULSES				
Projected hostility is revealed by seeing one or more aggressive animals, while none of the human figures, with whom the subject could identify, is seen engaged in assertive behavior.	35%	5%	2.3	.05
Hostility toward women is revealed by failure to see female figures in Card VII.	75	15	3.8	.001
SIGNS OF REPRESSION OF SEXUAL IMPULSES				
The first response to Card VI is disphoric, evasive, or anatomical; ² or a religious figure is seen in the top "phallic" area.	65	10	3.7	.001
The record contains no mention of human sexual organs or sexual areas of the body.	95	55	2.9	.01
SIGNS OF EMOTIONAL IMMATURITY				
The subject sees one or more little houses (showing desire for continuation of childhood dependence).	25	0	2.4	.02
The subject sees two or more children or baby animals or adults engaged in childish behavior and sees no human figures engaged in adult behavior.	55	25	2.0	.05
SIGN OF LACK OF INSIGHT				
The subject gives two or more vague, evasive responses such as smoke, clouds, designs, geographical bodies, microscopic slides, or X-ray pictures. This shows refusal to face emotionally disturbing problems.	60	20	2.7	.01

¹ In the sample of the 140 Jewish students who took both the questionnaire and the Rorschach test, we selected as Group A the 20 highest F scorers among the students who were in the top quartile on E and in the top halves on Bogardus Social Distance and Total Ethnic Outgroup Prejudice. Similarly, Group B consisted of the 20 lowest F scores in the bottom quartile on E and in the bottom halves on Bogardus Social Distance and Total Ethnic Outgroup Prejudice.

² Sexual organs are not scored as "anatomy" by Rorschach workers.

VALIDATION OF THE CALIFORNIA F SCALE BY MEANS OF THE RORSCHACH TEST

The California Study authors validated their personality scale by clinical observations upon groups which scored at the high and low extremes on prejudice. Using as their chief instruments a special version of the Murray Thematic Apperception Test and intensive "depth" interviews, which they quantified, they found personality dif-

ferences which strongly confirmed the differences shown by the F scale. Our task was to repeat the validation with somewhat different methods and with a minority group sample. This paper will report the results of the group Rorschach test administered to 140 of the Jewish students who had previously taken the questionnaire.

The analysis of the Rorschach protocols was carried out by the author and his wife,

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Myra Himelhoch. Since there was no established Rorschach technique for identifying most of the traits which comprise the F syndrome, it was necessary first to try to discover the Rorschach signs of each of the traits.¹² A check-list of possible signs of each trait was compiled, which included seventy-five signs in all. Then, the records of two groups of twenty students each, who scored

tarian extreme. These discriminating traits are repression of hostile impulses, repression of sexual impulses, lack of insight, and emotional immaturity. As an example of our method, some of the signs of these traits, the frequencies of the signs, and our interpretation of the signs are presented in Table 2. It should be understood that these interpretations are offered tentatively and that

TABLE 3. COMPARISON OF MEAN QUESTIONNAIRE AND RORSCHACH SCORES, EXPRESSED AS PERCENTAGES OF MAXIMUM POSSIBLE SCORES, BY HIGHEST AND LOWEST SCORING GROUPS SELECTED FROM 140 JEWISH STUDENTS

Scale	Maximum Possible Score	Mean Scores		C.R. of Difference Mean A- Mean B
		Group A High Scorers ¹	Group B Low Scorers ¹	
<i>Questionnaire Scales</i>				
F	150	45%	10%	14.4
E	70	36	2	12.7
Bogardus	90	31	8	7.4
Total Ethnic Outgroup Prejudice	75	33	10	7.7
Conservatism	50	49	16	8.1
Anti-Semitism	50	19	2	6.9
<i>Rorschach Scales</i>				
Repression of Hostile Impulses	3	63	13	6.8
Repression of Sexual Impulses	6	62	25	5.7
Emotional Immaturity	2	40	10	3.0
Lack of Insight	4	60	23	5.9
Self-Rejection, Form X ²	15	59	21	3.4
Self-Rejection, Form Y ²	39	65	35	9.5

¹ The method of selection of these groups is explained in Table 2, note 1.

² The Form X Self-Rejection score is the sum of the four trait scores. The Form Y Self-Rejection score is described elsewhere in this paper.

at the extremes on F and on the prejudice scales, were checked for the presence or absence of each sign. After testing the significance of the difference between the frequencies of each sign in the two groups, we retained only the fifteen signs which were discriminating at the 0.05 level. Assuming that our method of trait identification is valid, we do have statistically significant evidence that the relatively prejudiced students exhibit certain traits to a greater degree than do those who score at the equal-

they are subject to possible modification in the course of further investigation.

The next step was to use the Rorschach signs to construct a scale. It was decided that an individual's score for any trait would be the number of signs of that trait which appeared in his record. Then, by summing the trait scores, we obtained a syndrome score which provided a single quantitative measure of self-rejection (the "Rorschach Self-Rejection Scale, Form X"). Table 3 presents the mean Rorschach trait and scale scores, along with the mean questionnaire scores, of the twenty highest F scorers and the twenty lowest F scorers in our sample. (The high F students are, according to their

¹² The author wishes to acknowledge the valuable suggestions of Dr. Bruno Klopfer, who was consulted when the Rorschach analysis was initiated.

questionnaire scores, much more prejudiced against ethnic outgroups, anti-Semitic, and conservative than the low F students.) Since the Rorschach trait and syndrome scores reveal great differences between the high and low F groups, the Rorschach data appears to validate the California F scale. All of the mean trait scores for the two groups are discriminating at the 0.01 level or better.

In order quickly to rate large numbers of Rorschach protocols, it was desirable to have a technique which was shorter than the "Form X" method already described. After considerable experimentation, a briefer inspection technique, "Form Y," was developed. After all 140 records had been scored by Form Y, the results were correlated with several questionnaire scores. The contingency of Rorschach Self-Rejection, Form Y, and F is 0.56; the contingency with E is 0.61; with Anti-Semitism is 0.43.¹³

It should be noted that these correlations are obtained in a group which varies in attitude from complete equalitarianism to only moderate prejudice. The mean E and F scores of the most prejudiced and the most self-rejecting twenty students in the N.Y.U. Jewish sample fall somewhat below the E and F means of the entire California sample. It is unlikely that the self-rejection syndrome is as prominent in the personality structure of our twenty "most self-rejecting" students as it is in the personality structure of the average American. Despite this, the differences revealed in the Rorschach material between our highest F scorers and our lowest F scorers are in the same direction as those observed by other methods in the California group, in which there is a much greater range of scores.

It is of obvious importance to determine whether the same personality traits which distinguish the moderately prejudiced from the most tolerant are found in extreme form among individuals who are known for their fanatical ethnic hatred. We have some evidence which suggests that such is the case. Dr. Douglas M. Kelley, one of the psychia-

trists at the Nuremberg Trials, has kindly made available to us the Rorschach records which he obtained from Von Ribbentrop, Rosenberg, Streicher, Ley, Goering, Frank, and Doenitz. Applying our method of Rorschach analysis to their test records, Myra Himelhoch has found that these Nazis exhibit in a more extreme form the same dynamics as were found in American samples. The Nazis, in comparison with our relatively prejudiced students, have a much more dangerous cleavage between their impulses and their conscious self-image; their identifications with people, animals, and the world in general are poorer as a result.

Moreover, the authoritarian component is tremendously accentuated among the Nazis who, in their preoccupation with power and status, seriously neglect the functional aspects of their environment. The Nuremberg Rorschach evidence is consistent with the hypothesis that some of the personality needs which underly extreme ethnic hatred differ in degree, but not in kind, from the needs which find expression in moderate, "normal" prejudice. Much more research is, of course, necessary in order to test this hypothesis adequately.

INTERPRETATION

What facts have we established within reasonable limits of credibility? What implications can we legitimately find in the facts for a dynamic theory of ethnic attitudes? In answering these questions, we shall try to avoid the twin pitfalls of over-interpretation and under-interpretation.

The California prejudice scales have high inter-item reliabilities and have been at least partially validated by clinical observations. The only evidence for the reliability and validity of the author's prejudice scales is the fact that they correlate with the California scales. Later we shall test their validity by means of life history data. We have corroborated the California authors' previous validation of the F scale by showing that its results correlate with certain types of behavior in the Rorschach test. Although it is generally conceded that the Rorschach test reveals deep-seated non-ideological per-

¹³ These are coefficients of mean square contingency, corrected as explained in Table 1, note 3. All three coefficients are significant at the 0.001 level.

sonality dispositions, we cannot be sure of the exact nature of the particular dispositions revealed by our Rorschach Self-Rejection scale until we have independent validation of this scale at the sign, trait, and syndrome levels.

If the validity of our instruments is granted, we have demonstrated in our sample that (1) ethnic attitudes are interrelated, (2) generalized ethnic prejudice varies with self-rejection, (3) student and parent attitudes are correlated, (4) the students are more tolerant than their parents, and (5) the more self-accepting the student, the greater his tolerant divergence from his parents. Strictly speaking, these findings do not prove that the students started with attitudes close to those of their parents and later changed in response to extra-parental influences, including the college. Preliminary analysis of autobiographical schedules makes it reasonably clear, however, that these two assumptions are valid.

Since ethnic attitudes are socially shared and socially transmitted forms of behavior, they are culture traits. The development and modification of an individual's ethnic attitudes is a special case of the assimilation of ideological culture traits. It is only when the culture offers a choice of attitudes that personality differences can find expression in different ideologies.

We shall now consider possible ways in which the traits in the F syndrome find expression in ethnic prejudice. According to the California Study, there is a sharp cleavage in the F personality between the conscious and unconscious selves. On the surface: friendliness, devotion to parents, optimism. Beneath the conventional exterior: repressed hostility (often directed at parents), repressed sexual wishes, anxiety regarding status, dependency needs, and guilt not consciously acknowledged. Hence, the lack of insight—the inevitable consequence of repression. The culturally-stimulated drive for power and status, which requires the renunciation of immediate impulse-gratification, is probably an important factor in causing the repression of hostile, sexual-affectional, and dependency needs. Once the

repression is established, the self-rejecting individual eagerly accepts the scapegoats provided by our system of ethnic stratification, because without these objects for the displacement and projection of his hostilities he would have difficulty in maintaining his psychic balance.

In the case of the prejudiced members of a minority group, the situation is complicated by the fact that they dislike not only other minorities but also their own group and the dominant majority. Perhaps, in an effort to identify themselves with the powerful majority, they accept its evaluation of their own and other minorities; but at the same time the reality of their exclusion makes complete identification impossible. Moreover, their identification with their own group is also spoiled by ambivalence. Presumably, the source of the difficulty is their repressed hostility toward family and self. Keeping the idealized images of these intact, they deflect their aggression from the self and the family ingroup to the wider ethnic ingroup as well as to ethnic outgroups. This means that ethnic prejudice is a less effective defense for them than it is for the dominant group. Since intolerance of outgroups is accompanied by antagonism toward the minority ingroup, they must as a result experience considerable anxiety regarding their ethnic status.

Assuming that a particular attitude is present in the culture, a person may acquire it either because he has certain personality tendencies which find expression in that attitude or because he has personality tendencies which require him to identify himself with an individual or a group which happens to have that attitude. One should not, therefore, confuse the direct need for an idea with the need to agree (or disagree) with the carrier of an idea. Both types of need work in the same direction in the case of students who go from relatively prejudiced homes to a relatively tolerant college. For the self-rejecting students in this group, ethnic prejudice has the additional function of enabling them to reaffirm their loyalty to their parents. This filial piety is part of the reaction-formation of excessive devotion,

which helps keep repressed hostility toward parents out of consciousness. Just as Newcomb found at Bennington,¹⁴ they often do not even let themselves become aware that they are more prejudiced than their fellows. Conversely, it is the self-accepting students who most fully assimilate the equalitarian mores of the college, for they can objectively criticize their parents and disagree with them without feeling guilty.

Despite the limitations of our sample, our findings, alongside the California research and the convergent results of other studies, suggest that certain dynamics of ethnic

¹⁴T. M. Newcomb, *Personality and Social Change*, New York: Dryden Press, 1943.

prejudice are basically the same in a considerable variety of subcultural and status groups. The Nazi Rorschach protocols intimate that the reported attitude-personality relationship may even hold for other cultures as well. Moreover, our results would seem to refute the view that the dynamics of moderate prejudice differ qualitatively from the dynamics of extreme bigotry.

Our findings should have practical importance for the design of educational programs aimed at combating race prejudice and liberalizing ethnic attitudes. Such programs, if they are to be effective, must take into account the differential responsiveness of self-accepting and self-rejecting personalities.

A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF INTERGROUP HUMOR

MILTON L. BARRON

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A CURIOUS "step-child" in sociological research is humor. This may be the result of an implicit and dubious assumption among sociologists that jokes are, by their very nature, frivolous and frivolity in human relations does not merit their attention. Psychologists, on the other hand, have given the subject much of their time and efforts,¹ and philosophers continue to probe its elusive nature today,² continuing a

line of interest which dates back to Aristotle.³

The questions which these psychologists, philosophers and others⁴ have sought to answer have been few. Why do people laugh? What is the nature of humor? What are the techniques of humor? Yet there is virtually no agreement among them in answer to the first two questions.⁵

For the few interested sociologists, the function of humor—especially intergroup humor—has been the center of attention.⁶

¹Of major significance is the work of Sigmund Freud. See A. A. Brill, ed., *The Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud*, New York: Random House, 1938, Book IV, pp. 633-803. Less pretentious psychological studies are represented by Herbert Barry, "The Role of Subject-Matter in Individual Differences in Humor," *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, XXXV (March 1928), 112-128; Norman R. F. Maier, "A Gestalt Theory of Humor," *British Journal of Psychology*, XXIII (July 1932), 69-74; H. A. Wolff and C. E. Smith, "The Psychology of Humor," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXVIII (January-March, 1934), 341-365; Donald Hayworth, "The Social Origin and Function of Laughter," *Psychological Review*, XXXV (September 1928), 367-384.

²See, for example, Arthur Koestler, *Insight and Outlook*, New York: Macmillan, 1949, Part I, pp. 3-110.

³See Freud's acknowledgments in Brill, *op. cit.*, pp. 633-803.

⁴Miscellaneous lay analysts of humor include David L. Cohn, "White Folks Are Easy to Please," *Saturday Review of Literature*, XXVII (November 25, 1944), 12-13; Langston Hughes, *The Best of Negro Humor*, Chicago: Negro Digest Publications, 1945; Milton Wright, *What's Funny and Why*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1939.

⁵Stanley Walker, "What is Humor?" *North American Review*, CCXLIII (March 1937), 176-184.

⁶An exception is Antonin J. Obrdlik, "Gallows Humor—A Sociological Phenomenon," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXVII (March 1942), 709-716.

They are agreed on a fairly obvious point that humor is a special product as well as a medium with social functions.⁷ But they disagree among themselves and with others who are not sociologists in defining a theory of the function of humor. Obrdlik and Burma, for example, propose that humor functions as an effective weapon of social conflict and control. Witness its use of irony, invective and sarcasm. It enhances and reenforces the morale of those who use it and deflates the victims against whom it is directed. Specifically in minority-majority group relations, humor is one of many conflict devices used by each group in its interaction with others in order to attain or retain ascendancy in status and morale.⁸

Others take issue with exclusive devotion to the conflict-control theory of humor. Myers⁹ points out that laughter is not always malicious; it is often colored by annoyance with the object, but frequently it is accompanied by liking, respect, and even reverence for the object. Dollard recognizes the aggressive orientation of some jokes, but he cautions that joking may serve purposes other than the expression of hostility.¹⁰ Eastman claims that although many of the most popular jokes release our suppressed impulse to "take a crack" at somebody,¹¹ one needs to refer to Piaget's position that a laughing baby cannot possibly have attitudes of derision toward and superiority over others. This is because of a baby's incomplete

consciousness of self and others.¹² Furthermore, men may enjoy more fully the jokes on women, and women on men, but men do laugh at jokes on men, and women at jokes on women.¹³ Myrdal's adherence to the conflict-control theory is also qualified, for he finds other functions for intergroup humor within the framework of his general theory of the "American Dilemma." He maintains that "when people are up against great inconsistencies in their creed and behavior which they cannot, or do not want to, account for rationally, humor is a way out. It gives a symbolic excuse for imperfections, a point to what would otherwise be ambiguous. It gives also a compensation to the sufferer. The 'understanding laugh' is an intuitive absolution between sinners and sometimes also between the sinner and his victim. The main 'function' of the joke is thus to create a collective surreptitious approbation for something which cannot be approved explicitly because of moral inhibitions."¹⁴ Lastly, there is Freud's support of Myers, Dollard, Myrdal and Eastman with special reference to jokes directed against Jews. He maintains that a number of such jokes do not conform to the conflict-control theory of humor because they were invented by Jews themselves engaging in self-criticism.¹⁵

It is futile to anticipate a resolution of this and other controversies among philosophers, psychologists and sociologists of humor until an empirical body of descriptive, systematic and classified data on jokes is made available. Intergroup humor may well be a convenient point of departure in gathering such data, for sociologists have already demonstrated special interest in it. The raw material may be sought in the several published anthologies of humor. However, censorship does preclude a claim for perfect representativeness. That is, many jokes concerning intergroup relations as well as other

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 709.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 715-716; John H. Burma, "Humor as a Technique in Race Conflict," *American Sociological Review*, XI (December 1946), 710-711. Consistent with this theory is Burma's four-fold classification of Negro-white humor. That is, jokes may be (1) by Negroes and pro-Negro; (2) by Negroes and anti-white; (3) by white and pro-white; (4) or by whites and anti-Negro.

⁹ Henry Alonzo Myers, "The Analysis of Laughter," *The Sewanee Review*, XXXXIII (October-December 1935), 5.

¹⁰ John Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937, p. 309.

¹¹ Max Eastman, "What We Laugh At—and Why," *Reader's Digest* XLII (April 1943), 66-68.

¹² Max Eastman, *Enjoyment of Laughter*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 1936, pp. 30-31.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

¹⁴ Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944, pp. 38-39.

¹⁵ Brill, *op. cit.*, p. 705.

social phenomena are characterized by obscenity in oral communication but censored in script by revision or deletion.¹⁶

AIMS AND METHODOLOGY

No attempt will be made in this paper to formulate a new theory of intergroup humor. Rather, its aims are to initiate the empirical and systematic classification of descriptive data necessary for a subsequent formulation of such a theory, and to pose some questions which the theory must answer.

For purposes of this paper, three American ethnic groups, Negroes, Jews and Irish were selected and jokes about them were sought in three anthologies.¹⁷ A thorough cross-check of the anthologies was made for duplicated jokes. Their elimination led to a work-field of 300 Negro, 160 Jewish and 274 Irish jokes, a total of 734 for the three groups combined. The next step was to analyze and classify each group's jokes under the following six categories: (1) dialect, (2) theme, (3) proper names, (4) sex composition, (5) occupations, and (6) intergroup or intragroup composition.

FINDINGS

The pervasiveness of stereotypes in intergroup jokes thus became evident.

(1) *Dialect*. Consider, for example, the use of dialect. As the accompanying table shows, in all but 2.6 per cent of the Negro jokes, at least one Negro participant speaks in "Negro" dialect, whereas in each of 66.8 per cent of the Jewish and 79.5 per cent of the Irish jokes there is at least one Jew or Irish speaking in the respective dialects. Even the rare professional Negro in jokes uses dialect, and it is not unusual for a Jewish child to do likewise.

¹⁶ Cf. Max Eastman, "Wit and Nonsense: Freud's Mistake," *Yale Review*, XXVI (September 1936), 71; Burma, *op. cit.*, pp. 712-713.

¹⁷ Lewis and Faye Copeland, eds., *10,000 Jokes, Toasts and Stories*, New York: Garden City Publishing Company, 1946; Lewis Copeland, ed., *The World's Best Jokes*, New York: Halcyon House, 1948; Moulton Powers, ed., *Best Jokes For All Occasions*, New York: Permabooks, 1948.

(1) *Dialect*.

PERCENTAGE OF JOKES IN DIALECT

	Negro	Jewish	Irish
Use dialect	97.3	66.8	79.5
Intragroup—one only	2.3	2.5	2.9
Intergroup—neither	1.0	2.5	1.4
Intergroup—both	0.0	1.8	1.1
Intergroup—minority no outgroup yes	0.0	0.0	0.0

In what social patterns does dialect appear? Jokes in which two members of the same ethnic group are participants, one of whom speaks in dialect and the other does not, account for only 2.3 per cent of the Negro, 2.5 per cent of the Jewish and 2.9 per cent of the Irish jokes. Those in which a Negro, Jew or Irishman engages in conversation with a member of an outgroup, neither of the participants using dialect, account for only 1 per cent of the Negro, 2.5 per cent of the Jewish and 1.4 per cent of the Irish jokes. In other jokes involving outgroup participants, no case may be found in which the Negro and white both use dialect, whereas only 1.8 per cent of the comparable Jewish jokes and 1.1 per cent of the comparable Irish jokes have dialect-speaking Gentiles and non-Irishmen respectively. Again, there are no cases of either Negroes, Jews or Irish refraining from dialect in the presence of outgroup affiliates who do. The only alternative pattern of dialect usage in jokes containing outgroup participants is the one most widely used: *the Negro, Jew or Irishman speaks in dialect; the white, Gentile, or non-Irishman does not*.

(2) *Themes*. Many of the individual jokes about the three minority groups have two or more themes. Recording each theme as a separate unit and calculating its absolute frequency, a comparative order-rank emerges for the respective groups as shown in the table on page 91.

A clear-cut deduction is that Jewish joke-themes are most readily stereotyped among all three groups, followed in order by Negro and Irish themes. There is relatively little variation in depicting Jewish traits and activities in jokes. But some stereotypes are not so exclusively "Jewish" that transposal to another group is impossible, a procedure

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Order-Rank	Negroes	Jews	Irish
1	"Deviant" behavior (91)*	Commercial and financial skills and obsessions (116)	Paradox (53)
2	Verbal difficulty and mental inferiority (86)	Verbal blunders (23)	Verbal difficulty and mental inferiority (38)
3	Religious fervor and participation (52)	Obnoxious personality traits (21)	Cleverness (34)
4	Poverty (43)	Peculiar names and concealment (8)	Alcoholism (25)
5	Marital conflict and sexual disorganization (41)	Food taboos (4)	Belligerence (19)
6	Subjection to ridicule and exploitation (18)	Unclassified (3)	Improvvidence (15)
7	Maladjustment (11)		Trials and imprisonment (14)
8	Fear (11)		Religious devotion (12)
9	Color value system (11)		Xenophobia (11)
10	Eating (9)		Falls from elevation (9)
11	Animals (7)		Funerals and wakes (9)
12	Cleverness (5)		Ethnocentrism (6)
13	Prestige search (5)		Marital conflict (6)
14	Lodge benefits (4)		Derogation of others (5)
15	Other (than color) physical traits (4)		Something for nothing (5)
16	Money (2)		Antagonism to M.D.'s (5)
17	Railroad (2)		Theft (4)
18	Unclassified (4)		Prolific fertility (4)
			Laziness (4)
			Marriages and weddings (4)
			Deflation (3)
			Physical traits (3)
			Leg-pulling (3)
			Self-evidence (3)
			Philosophical outlook (3)
			Self-negation (3)
			Reversal of meaning (3)
			Lying (2)
			Name confusion (2)
			Preference for lower class (2)
			Carelessness (2)
			Literal vs. derived meaning (2)
			Noise (2)
			Unclassified (27)

* Bracketed numbers in this and subsequent classifications refer to the absolute frequency of the specified item.

known to take place between Negro and white jokes.¹⁸ For example:

ABERDEEN

"Katz, a traveling salesman, was held up in the West by a storm and flood. He telegraphed his boss, Klein, in New York: 'Marooned by storm. Wire instructions.' Klein wired back: 'Start summer vacation as of yesterday.'"¹⁹

"A travelling salesman, with headquarters in this old city so celebrated for its parsimonious natives, was held up in the Shetland Islands by a severe wintry gale. He telegraphed his office: 'Marooned by storm. Wire instructions.' The reply: 'Commence summer vacation as of yesterday.'"²⁰

Stereotypes in Negro joke-themes have been analyzed and interpreted in general terms elsewhere.²¹ Comparison of Negro and Jewish joke-themes reveals an interesting paradox. That is, for Negroes, allegedly a "racial" group, religious themes occupy third place in order-rank. On the other hand, for

¹⁸ Cohn, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13; Burma, *op. cit.*, p. 711.

¹⁹ Powers, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

²⁰ *The New York Times Magazine Section*, February 6, 1949, p. 2.

²¹ Cohn, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13; Burma, *op. cit.*, pp. 711-712; Dollard, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-137, 160, 162, 168-170.

Order-Rank	Negroes	Jews	Irish
1	Rastus (41)	Cohen (27)	Pat (Patrick) (90)
2	Sam (18)	Abie (Abraham) (21)	Mike (Michael) (48)
3	Sambo (17)	Ikey (Ike) (21)	Murphy (16)
4	Mose (17)	Levy (Levi) (14)	Casey (14)
5	Mandy (16)	Izzy (7)	Bridget (11)
6	(E)liza (11)	Moe (7)	Dennis (7)
7	Brown (7)	Isaac (5)	(O')Sullivan (5)
8	Johnson (7)	Isidore (4)	Hogan (4)
9	Jones (6)	Rachel (4)	Kelly (4)
10	Ephraim (4)	Katz (4)	McGinnis (4)
11	Jim (4)	Dave (David) (3)	(O')Grady (3)
12	Dinah (4)	Goldberg (3)	Rafferty (3)
13	Lijah (4)	Silverstein (3)	Dooley (3)
14	Jackson (4)	Sol (Solomon) (2)	(O')Ryan (3)
15	Remus (3)	Klein (2)	Riley (O'Reilly) (3)
16	Zeke (3)	Finklestein (2)	O'Brien (3)
17	Henry (3)	Jake (Jakey) (2)	(O')Halloran (2)
18	Ike (2)	Rifka (2)	Hooley (2)
19	Pompey (2)	Rubinstein (2)	(O')Brannigan (2)
20	Amos (2)	Isaacstein (2)	Peter (2)

Jews, allegedly a "religious" group, virtually no such joke-themes are found. In a comparison of Negro, Jewish and Irish joke-themes, one finds verbal difficulty or blunder the second in rank for all three groups. Mental deficiency and poverty are prominent with reference to Negroes and Irish but negligible in the case of Jews.

Of special interest in Irish joke-themes is the first order-rank given to the paradox or "Irish Bull." This is especially significant because of its apparent inconsistency with the conflict-control theory of humor. Here the object of the joke is its creator too. In Irish jokes "it often happens that the humor is unintentional. Of this kind the 'Irish Bull' is the outstanding example. This ludicrous blunder in speech—the *Taurus Hibernicus*—is an amusing juxtaposition of opposite meanings and mixed metaphors, and is said to derive its name from one Obadiah Bull, an Irish lawyer practicing at the English Bar about the middle of the eighteenth century who became famous for his blunders in speaking. . . ."²²

(3) *Proper Names*. Although Negro dialect and Jewish joke-themes are more clearly stereotyped than their counterparts in the comparable minority groups, Irish names surpass Negro and Jewish names in clarity

of stereotype. Pat and Mike, as the accompanying classification of the twenty leading names in each group demonstrates, make absolute as well as proportionate appearances far beyond those of any given Negro or Jewish names. Another differential lies in the greater use of first names for Negro participants as contrasted with the preponderance of surnames in the cases of Jews and Irish.

(4) *Sex Composition*. Sex composition in intergroup jokes may take any one of at least ten alternative patterns. It is self-evident that these alternatives in turn fall into two general divisions: (1) the intrasexual and (2) the intersexual. Their distribution in Negro, Jewish and Irish jokes is shown in the table on page 93.

Males are participants in intergroup jokes much more frequently than females. Furthermore, most jokes about Negroes, Jews and Irishmen are intrasexual, and within that framework, the outstanding patterns are (1) two minority males, (2) two intergroup males, and (3) one minority male. Within the other framework, that of intersexual jokes, all three groups share one outstanding pattern—that of minority male and minority female. The remaining intersexual patterns which, of course, have intergroup participants, distribute themselves differently in Negro and Irish jokes on the one hand and Jewish jokes on the other. That is, the

²² P. A. Sillard, "Some Irish Bulls," *Catholic World*, CXXXV (September 1937), 696-697.

former more frequently have a minority female and an outgroup male, whereas in the latter the reverse is true: one finds more often a minority male and an outgroup female.²³

It may be significant that both of the last mentioned intersexual patterns usually have caste characteristics. Accompanying the patterns, one usually finds explicit indications of occupational stratification reinforced by age differentiation or spatial dis-

participants are Irish male and non-Irish female, a gardener or carpenter confronts a housewife. When an Irish female and non-Irish male are the participants, the relationship is that of maid-master, plaintiff-lawyer, tenant-landlord, patient-doctor, or janitress-artist.

(5) *Occupations.* There are two significant and related characteristics in the occupational affiliation of Negro joke participants. Whenever there is a white partici-

SEX PATTERNS IN INTERGROUP JOKES

	Negroes		Jews		Irish	
	No. of jokes	Percentage	No. of jokes	Percentage	No. of jokes	Percentage
I. Intrasexual						
a) two minority males	80	26.7	44	27.5	53	19.34
b) two minority females	5	1.7	1	0.6	6	2.18
c) two intergroup males	101	33.7	38	23.8	62	22.62
d) two intergroup females	19	6.3	0	—	5	1.82
e) one minority male	35	11.9	38	23.8	101	36.86
f) one minority female	7	2.4	0	—	5	1.82
II. Intersexual						
a) minority male and female	26	8.7	14	8.8	14	5.10
b) minority male and outgroup female	6	2.0	12	7.5	4	1.45
c) minority male and outgroup male	12	4.0	2	1.2	8	2.90
d) minority male—female outgroup male	—	—	—	—	2	0.725
Unclassified cases	9	3.0	11	6.8	14	5.10
Totals	300	100.0	160	100.0	274	100.0

tance. For example, those jokes which involve a Negro female and a white male describe the relationship as that of maid-patient, client-lawyer, patient-doctor, cook-master, student-school official, or wash-woman-conductor. Those involving a Negro male and a white female describe impersonal interactions by phone, or concern student-teacher and handyman-housewife. In comparable Jewish jokes, the Jewish male and Gentile female engage in phone conversations, or are markedly stratified as salesman-housewife, student-teacher, and furrier-customer. The few Jewish jokes whose pattern involves a Jewish female and a Gentile male take the form of passenger in relationship to conductor or ticket agent. In jokes whose

pant in a Negro joke, his or her occupation is *always* revealed, but in the all-Negro jokes, one frequently does not learn each participant's occupation. Secondly, the white's occupation, with one exception,²⁴ is

²³ "A white man during reconstruction times was arraigned before a colored justice of the peace for killing a man and stealing his mule. It was in Arkansas, near the Texas border, and there was some rivalry between the states, but the colored justice tried to preserve an impartial frame of mind.

"We's got two kinds of law in dis yer co't," he said: 'Texas law an' Arkansas law. Which will you hab?'

"The prisoner thought a minute and then guessed that he would take the Arkansas law.

"Den I discharge you fo' stealin' de mule, an' hang you fo' killin' de man."

"Hold on a minute judge," said the prisoner. 'Better make that Texas law.'

"All right. Den I fin' you fo' killin' de man an' hang you fo' stealin' de mule.'" Copeland and Copeland, eds., *op. cit.*, p. 657.

²⁴ For the implications this may have in comparative aspects of American caste systems, see Milton L. Barron, *People Who Intermarry*, Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1946, pp. 179-180.

obviously superior to that of the Negro who participates in the same joke with him.

As the following classification of the twelve leading Negro-white, Jewish and Irish joke-occupations reveals, white occupations are far superior on the whole to those of Negroes. If one removes the religious occupations of minister and deacon, the Negro's work is decidedly menial. Aside from the

CONCLUSIONS

How does this content analysis relate itself to the conflict-control theory of intergroup humor? Among other things, it poses the following questions which an adequate theory must cover:

1. Why are there differentials in the stereotypes of comparable minorities? Specifically, why are Negro dialect, Jewish themes

Order-Rank	Negroes	Whites	Jews	Irish
1	Minister (39)	Judge (20)	Clothier (15)	Laborer (20)
2	Maid (10)	Housewife (12)	Unspecified Businessman (12)	Priest (19)
3	Deacon (8)	Doctor (10)	Student (7)	Defendant-Prisoner (9)
4	Laundress (7)	Lawyer (8)	Passenger (4)	Housewife (8)
5	Porter (5)	Minister (6)	Patient (3)	Soldier (7)
6	Soldier (4)	Employer (4)	Furrier (3)	Maid-servant (6)
7	Laborer (4)	Farmer (3)	Salesman (3)	Construction worker (5)
8	Student (3)	Boss (3)	Tailor (3)	Job applicant-Unemployed (4)
9	Waiter (3)	Planter (2)	Storeowner (2)	Driver-Coachman (4)
10	Handyman (3)	Passenger (2)	Lawyer (2)	Juror (3)
11	Barber (2)	Foreman (2)	Peddler (2)	Witness (3)
12	Farmer (2)	Traveler (2)	Pawnbroker (2)	Seaman (3)

Negro-white contrast, one is struck by the greater similarity between Negro and Irish occupations than between either group and the Jews.

(6) *Inter-Intragroup Composition.* The classification below shows there is the least uncertainty about intra- or intergroup composition in the case of Negro jokes. In addition, Negro jokes have a slight predominance of intergroup participants, whereas Jewish and Irish jokes relate Jew to Jew and Irish to Irish more often than they relate Jew to Gentile or Irish to non-Irish. In those Jewish jokes in which the specific outgroup identity of the Gentile participants is given, the Irish appear most frequently, followed by the Scotch, English, Catholics, and Protestants. In comparable Irish jokes, the English are outstanding participants, followed by the Scotch, Jews, Swedes, Negroes, Americans, and Dutch.

PERCENTAGE OF JOKES BY GROUP COMPOSITION

	Intra	Inter	No Indication or Uncertainty
Negro	49.0	50.33	0.67
Jewish	46.8	41.2	12.0
Irish	45.2	35.7	19.1

and Irish names more intensively stereotyped than their counterparts in the minority triumvirate?

2. Why does the male more frequently appear in intergroup jokes than the female?

3. Who invent and orally communicate these jokes? Until this question is answered, the conflict-control theorists may be said to operate on a tenuous assumption that the ingroup only supports the ingroup and attacks the outgroup whenever it engages in intergroup joke verbalization.

4. What basis is there to the suspicion²⁵ that minority "victims" may in some cases, invent as well as communicate such jokes about themselves?

5. Should the aforementioned suspicion be well-founded, to what extent is self-hatred involved? To what extent is antagonism between subdivisions of a minority group involved?

Evidently, answers to the last three questions must be sought by empirical research in the field of oral communication.

²⁵ The "Irish Bull," for example, is one source of suspicion.

NOTES ON RESEARCH AND TEACHING



RENTAL RATES AND CROWDING IN DWELLING UNITS IN MANHATTAN

F. STUART CHAPIN AND CLARENCE A. JOHANSON, *University of Minnesota*; ARTHUR L. JOHNSON, *University of Michigan**

The exploration of antecedent-consequent relationships or *probable causation* is facilitated by use of the *ex post facto*¹ experimental design. In the present study it was assumed that rentals may be taken as a rough index of a bundle of social and economic factors causally related to crowding in dwelling units. There is empirical evidence from previous studies of the relationship of crowding to certain social and structural factors, including rental rates. For example, Schmid² found a correlation of $r = -.555$ between rentals and percentage of crowded dwelling units in the Twin Cities in 1934 by enumeration districts of the 1930 census; other relationships were found by him and several other investigators.³ In the present study a correlation of $r = -.68$ (corresponding to Schmid's result) was found between rentals and per cent crowded for the Borough of Manhattan, New York City, in 1934.

These empirical results suggest the hypothesis: there is an inverse relationship (correlation) between rentals and crowding. This measure of relationship correlates rentals and crowding for a single date and does not measure antecedent-consequent relationship. For the Borough of Manhattan, using census tracts as units of area, a correlation of $r = -.31$ was obtained between changes in rentals and associated changes in percentage crowded⁴ from 1934 to 1940.

* This study was facilitated by a grant from the Graduate School of the University of Minnesota.

¹ *Experimental Designs in Sociological Research*, 1947, Chapter V, especially pp. 95, 124-138. The present study is an extension of a previous exploratory study of all Boroughs of New York City made by Elizabeth Y. Arneson, Raymond O. Farden, Clarence A. Johanson, Arthur L. Johnson and Swan Ling under the direction of F. Stuart Chapin.

² *Social Saga of Two Cities*, 1945, p. 253.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 127-128.

⁴ Dwelling units having 1.01 or more persons per room were defined as crowded.

This correlation, based upon changes between two dates, approaches more closely to an analysis of possible cause and effect relationships, but of course, it offers no proof of cause and effect. Since the abuse of correlation coefficients has sometimes taken the form of accepting a correlation as equivalent to a measure of causation, it may be interesting to subject the data of rentals and crowding on two dates for the same areas to a method of analysis with greater capabilities for the discovery of assumed cause and effect relationships. This method is the method of *ex post facto* experimental design, in which some present effect (i.e., crowding in 1940) is traced backward to an assumed causal complex of factors or forces (i.e., rentals) at a prior date (1934), using for this purpose such records as are available (i.e., census tract data of Manhattan), since no new measures of the past can be made in the present, and relying upon procedures of selective control (i.e., matching the experimental group against the control group on per cent home ownership in census tracts).⁵

An examination of Table A shows results that support the hypothesis. This table demonstrates antecedent-consequent relationships more clearly and more simply than the correlation of $r = -.31$, between changes in rentals and changes in crowding for the entire Borough of Manhattan. It shows that in an experimental group the low rentals (\$19.93 in 1934) and high crowding rate (31.33% in 1934) were followed by lower crowding (24.59% in 1940) with slightly higher rentals (\$22.95 in 1940); and the lowest crowding (7.47% in 1934) associated with highest rentals (\$93.73 in 1940) were followed by higher crowding (15.24% in 1940) and diminished rentals (\$85.33 in 1940). Not only does this experimental design show the inverse relationship between rentals and crowding more clearly and more simply than does the negative correlation of $-.31$, between changes, but it permits a test of the significance of the changes in the two associated variables. A decline in rentals of \$8.40 for the period 1934 to 1940

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

TABLE A

Groups Matched on Home Ownership	1934		1940		Changes	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	Areas of Extreme Low Crowding With High Rentals N=18	Homogeneous Rent Areas N=35	Areas of Extreme Low Crowding With High Rentals N=18	Homogeneous Rent Areas N=35	Areas of Extreme Low Crowding With High Rentals N=18	Homogeneous Rent Areas N=35
E-gr. Crowding (1) Rentals (2)	7.47% \$93.73	31.33% \$19.93	15.24% \$85.33	24.59% \$22.95	+ 7.77% (8.82)* -\$ 8.40 (4.54)	- 6.7% (-7.39) +\$3.02 (4.96)
C-gr. Crowding (3) Rentals (4)	6.13% \$103.08	15.43% \$40.50	6.74% \$152.83	17.33% \$46.29	+ 0.62% (0.84) +\$49.75 (4.60)	+ 1.90% (+1.9) -\$0.21 (-0.22)
Diffs. Crowding (5) Rentals (6)	1.34% (1.13)* -\$9.35 (-1.70)	15.9% (8.85) -\$26.57 (-35.37)	8.50% (8.53) -\$67.5 (-4.8)	+ 7.26 (+4.1) -\$23.34 (-18.04)	+ 7.16% (6.28) -\$58.15 (-5.3)	- 8.64+ (-6.32) +\$3.23 (2.85)

* CR'S shown in () and all corrected for r 's introduced by matching. It will be observed that the dependent variable crowding, is approximately equated between experimental and control groups for 1934, since the difference of 1.34% [col. (1)] is statistically not significant (critical ratio, 1.13). Also the independent variable rental, shows for 1934 [Col. (1)] no statistically significant difference between means. In column (2) however, the differences between means of both dependent and independent variables for 1934 are statistically significant. This situation results from the nature of the category "homogeneous rent areas." Homogeneity was determined from a study of the incidence of tracts in five dollar rent classes on a map of Manhattan showing the ecological homogeneity of the tracts in four rental classes. For this reason the differences in 1934 of column (2) could not be equated but were taken as they occurred.

has a critical ratio⁶ of 4.54, highly significant, and the corresponding increase in crowding of 7.77% has a highly significant critical ratio of 8.82! Meanwhile the associated changes in the control group were indeterminate.

The convergence of evidence supports, rather than proves, the hypothesis of an antecedent-consequent relationship of an inverse type, i.e., low rentals at an earlier date are followed by a high percentage of crowding at a later date (and vice versa). This evidence consists of: (1) consistency with the magnitudes of correlations made in other studies; (2) consistency in the direction of relationship—all are inverse correlations; (3) critical ratios of change are beyond ordinary chance expectation, and (4) these inverse relationships hold for more homogeneous sub-groups, i.e., after one related factor is controlled by matching.

The direction of changes in rentals and in corresponding crowding was made for two samples analyzed. The experimental group of columns 1, 3 and 5, rows 1 and 2 in the table, was selected from the extremes of increasing crowding and decreasing crowding, with the corresponding rentals; and the experimental group of columns 2, 4 and 6, rows 3 and 4, was selected to represent low rent areas as contrasted with middle rent areas 1934-1940 and their corresponding crowding rates. In both experimental groups the inverse relationship between rental and crowding is clearly shown, together with the statistical significance of both the differences between experimental and control groups at each date, and the significance of the changes between dates for each group.

As to whether the statistically significant sequential relationship between the variables indicates a causal relationship or a mere chance relationship, can not be established (1) by the statistical data in themselves alone, or (2) by only one exploratory study such as the present investigation.

Fundamental to proof of causality and the power to predict results are: (a) introduction into our explanation of some conceptual scheme or theoretical considerations which entail the use of relevant data and experience not part of the immediate observations; and (b) repetition of similar studies with like results. The theoretical considerations begin with the assumption that rentals are taken as a rough index of a bundle of socio-economic factors

which may operate as a complex pattern of causal factors, and then to utilize relevant data of experience, such as the known association of low rentals with low income, poor housing expressed in sub-standard sanitation, need of structural repairs, age and decrepitude of structure, etc. Furthermore, as Dr. Knupper has said "... it appears that 'approximate rent' is the best index of 'general status,'"⁷ a conclusion derived from factor analysis of fifteen factors of status, including ammans, automobile, education, income, occupational telephone, etc. Thus all that can be claimed for the present exploratory study are the following: (a) the utility of the *ex post facto* experimental design as a method for clarifying and simplifying some assumed causal relationship; and (b) the verification or disproof of an hypothesis in a particular example in a given place for the stated period of the investigation.

ECONOMIC CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS IN AMERICAN PROTESTANTISM

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At the present stage of sociological research it amounts to a cliché to observe that social class lines are hardening in the United States. But the degree and type of visible class consciousness is another question. About such matters less is known. In the present study an effort has been made to determine the actual extent to which class consciousness in an economic sense appears to manifest itself ecologically among certain Protestant church denominations. It is a matter of common observation that church edifices representing denominations known to be wealthy are frequently found in upper-class residential areas, just as it is known that "store front" churches are located in disorganized neighborhoods. But the real extent of this phenomenon has apparently not yet been measured. This paper reports an attempt to make such a measurement, using as data all Protestant churches of Los Angeles as representatives of their denominations.

PROCEDURE

The procedure has been as follows: using a six-fold scale ranging from "wealthy" to "below average," the economic status (in terms of

⁶ The critical ratios are corrected for correlation between the variables attributable to matching on the per cent home ownership.

⁷ Genevieve Knupper, *Indices of Socio-Economic Status: a Study of Some Problems of Measurement*, New York, 1946 (Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University) pp. 104-107, 194.

home and rental values) was determined for the geographical area surrounding each white, non-Mexican Protestant church existing in Los Angeles, California in a given year (1940).¹ The average denominational per capita wealth for all the given churches located in each of the six types of areas was then computed.

Data concerning the denominational per capita wealth of the various churches were obtained from information given in Tables 13, 14, and 16 of Volume I of the 1936 census of religious bodies.² An estimate of each denomination's per capita wealth was arrived at by dividing the total of a denomination's reported wealth, using as an index the value of all its parsonages and church edifices less debt, by the denomination's membership thirteen years and older. The per capita wealth of each denomination's average church was then assigned to all the churches representing that denomination in Los Angeles. This arbitrary procedure reduced the per capita standing of the more wealthy churches of the various denominations, but it increased that of the less wealthy, thus, it is hoped, doing no essential injustice to the "average" per capita wealth of each denomination's representatives in Los Angeles.

Church addresses, representing the 1940 geographical location of each church, were obtained from an authoritative directory.³ Addresses used were those for all definitely located, white, non-Mexican Protestant churches in the City of Los

Angeles for which denominational per capita data could be obtained.⁴ The purified sample involved 43 denominations as represented by their 408 individual churches in Los Angeles. The addresses of these representative churches were spotted on the 1940 master map for "market control" prepared by the research department of the *Los Angeles Times*. The *Times* map establishes "the relative economic stature of the population" of Los Angeles, and indicates that the city is a complicated checkerboard of economic areas differing from one another in home values and rental levels.⁵ The *Times* has divided the different areas into six basic levels ranging from "wealthy" to "below average." These areas are not contiguous, but broken, scattered and mixed in all parts of the city.⁶

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

The results of this study have been divided into two categories: (a) Those findings conclusive enough to support at least a tentative generalization, and (b) Those findings from which no generalizations may as yet be drawn, but which may be important because they differ from the results of other studies of a similar nature. Findings in the first category were as follows: Referring to Table I, it will be noted that in the year chosen for study there was a one-to-one correlation between the relative economic status of various areas in Los Angeles and the average denominational per capita wealth of churches located in the areas. Without exception, the relative average denominational economic status of churches located in each area matched the relative economic status of their area. When the denominations are treated graph-

¹ The few denominations not used were those which did not appear in *Religious Bodies: 1936*. Also, a few individual churches were excluded from the study because the economic status of their locations could not be determined.

² This map, prepared from 1940 census information, is accepted in Southern California as the most authoritative of its kind.

³ The six areas have been characterized by the *Los Angeles Times* as follows: *Wealthy*—home values \$10,000 and up, rentals \$100 per month and up; *Well-to-do*—home values \$6,000-\$10,000, rentals \$60-\$100 per month; *Above Average*—home values \$4,000-\$6,000, rentals \$40-\$60 per month; *Upper Middle*—home values \$3,000-\$4,000, rentals \$30-\$40 per month; *Lower Middle*—home values \$2,000-\$3,000, rentals \$20-\$30 per month; *Below Average*—home values \$2,000 and down, rentals \$20 per month and down.

¹ Known racial and Mexican churches were excluded from the study because in Los Angeles such churches are forced to locate in certain areas. Missions—except Protestant Episcopal missions, which are in reality non-self supporting churches—were excluded from the study for the same reason. The study included, then, all 1940 Los Angeles Protestant churches relatively free to settle in any area of the city.

² *Religious Bodies: 1936* (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1941), Vol. I. The method used in this study for estimating denominational per capita wealth must be accepted with caution due to the well-known limitations of census data. See Samuel C. Kincheloe, *Research Memorandum on Religion in the Depression* (New York: Social Science Research Council, Bulletin 33, 1937), Chapter I, for a discussion of the deficiencies of church statistics.

³ *Directory of Churches and Religious Organizations in Los Angeles County*, prepared by the Southern California Historical Records Survey Project (Division of the Professional and Service Projects of the Works Progress Administration), April 1940.

ically, the same results are obtained: the wealthiest half of the denominations had twice as many churches in areas rated economically higher than lower middle when compared with the number of churches representing the rest of the denominations in the same areas. This correlation between denominational church wealth and the status of economic areas in Los Angeles may tend to raise a question about Douglass' statement that "The clew of local environment is . . . not generally valid as a basis for church classification."⁷

TABLE I. PROTESTANT CHURCHES AND POPULATIONS LOCATED IN VARIOUS ECONOMIC AREAS OF LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA IN 1940

Type of Area*	Population of Area**	Number of Churches in Area	Average Denominational Per Capita Wealth of Churches in Each Area (to nearest dollar)
Wealthy	40,037	9	\$174
Well-to-do	105,335	9	\$166
Above Average	268,431	32	\$142
Upper Middle	360,498	74	\$134
Lower Middle	422,834	224	\$121
Below Average	291,546	60	\$116

* Each area, considered as a unit because of its relative economic status, is made up of many widely separated blocks and tracts having the same home values and rental levels.

** An estimate of the number of persons living in each area was arrived at by totaling the number of owned and rented dwellings in each area, then multiplying the results by the average number in each Los Angeles household in 1940. The total figure obtained in this fashion—1,488,681—differs by 15,596 from the actual 1940 Los Angeles population, which was 1,504,277. Figures obtained from *Population and Housing, Statistics for Census Tracts, Los Angeles-Long Beach, California* (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1942), pp. 4, 104.

The meaning of the apparent relationship between denominational church wealth and the economic status of urban areas where churches are located is, of course, the major consideration. To the extent that Los Angeles is a typical urban area, and within the limitations imposed by the data and procedure used, the writer

feels that the relationship revealed by this study may be interpreted as one measure of the degree to which class consciousness in an economic sense manifests itself ecologically in American Protestantism. To put it briefly, the findings suggest that when Protestant denominations are considered as a group, they appear to be largely "economic class denominations" if the location of their representative church edifices may be called a measure of the people to whom each denomination caters.⁸

Findings in the second category mentioned above were as follows: Other surveys have established that there are relatively more churches per capita in our poorer Southern states in comparison with the number of churches in the North.⁹ The present study would seem to indicate that what is true of the nation with regard to location of churches (the "poorer" the region, the more churches there are per capita, and vice versa) is also true of Los Angeles as one large city. In addition, the findings indicate that the distribution of Los Angeles Protestant churches does not correspond to its distribution of population. This is in contrast to what Douglass has found in St. Louis and Springfield, Massachusetts. In St. Louis, Douglass relates, the distribution of Protestant churches "corresponds remarkably to the distribution of population."¹⁰ And in the Springfield survey he states, "The distribution of Protestant churches throughout Springfield, as well as the number

* A check with the research director of the Church Federation of Los Angeles disclosed that it is believed that a significant proportion of church members in Los Angeles live in the vicinity of their churches. H. Paul Douglass in *The St. Louis Church Survey* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1924), pp. 139-140, and in *The Springfield Church Survey* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1926), pp. 285-289, found that up to 68% of the members of each city church live within one mile of the church. In addition, Douglass maintains that (see p. 307ff. of *The Springfield Church Survey*) "the church is on the whole socially homogeneous, drawing a great majority of its members from a single social level."

⁸ *The Economic Almanac for 1948* (published by the National Industrial Conference Board), p. 316, indicates that per capita wealth is by far the lowest in the South Atlantic, South Central and West South Central states. In contrast, Table I of the 1936 census of religious bodies indicates that these same states rank consistently high in churches per capita.

⁹ Douglass, *The St. Louis Church Survey*, p. 59.

⁷ H. Paul Douglass, *1000 City Churches* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1926), p. 268.

per district, is somewhat proportionate to the strength of Protestant population in the respective sections."¹¹ Studies of other urban centers are needed to determine whether the situation in Los Angeles, or in St. Louis and Springfield, is "typical," if either of them is.

The specific situation in Los Angeles was found to be as follows: In 1940, the lower economic areas ("lower middle" and "below average" in Table I) of Los Angeles contained significantly less population than the other areas,¹² but significantly more churches¹³ of the types studied, when compared with the total number located in the other four areas. The two lower economic areas contained only 47% of the population in 1940, but they had 70% of the Protestant churches. One of these areas contained more churches of the types studied than did all five other areas added together; there were 224 churches in the lower middle area, but a total of only 184 in the five other areas. In other words, an area that contained only 28% of the city's population in 1940 (and this 28% included most of the city's Negroes and many of the members of its other minorities), contained 55% of its white Protestant churches. It was found that there was an unquestionably significant difference between the lower middle area and the other areas so far as thousands of residents and number of churches were concerned.¹⁴ Compared with the five other areas, the lower middle had significantly fewer residents¹⁵ at the same time that it had significantly more churches than did all the other areas combined.¹⁶ This phenomenon was so pronounced that the Los Angeles City zoning commission was consulted to ascertain if zoning regulations forced many churches to locate in poorer areas. It was found, however, that white Protestant churches are relatively free to locate where they wish to in Los Angeles so far as economic areas are concerned.

Because the distribution of churches in Los Angeles is divergent from the distributions found in some other cities, the writer hesitates to

draw any conclusions from these findings. It may well be that the fact that Los Angeles Protestant churches are concentrated to a great extent in its lower economic areas could be cited as evidence of still another manifestation of the operation of economic class considerations in American Protestantism (because of the Marxist dictum that "religion is the opiate of the people"). But the writer feels that no attempt should be made to draw such a conclusion, or a contrary one, until the actual number of members of each of the churches is definitely known and until the "typicality" of Los Angeles is determined. These latter findings are, therefore, presented primarily because they differ with the findings of other studies of a similar nature.

THE MEASUREMENT OF ECOLOGICAL SEGREGATION:

DERIVATION OF AN INDEX BASED ON THE CRITERION OF REPRODUCIBILITY

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In an earlier paper on "The Measurement of Ecological Segregation," an attempt was made to construct a quantitative index as an operational definition of the sociological concept of ecological segregation.¹ It was found that not just one, but an indefinitely large number of different indices could be constructed, all logically corresponding to the concept of ecological segregation. Furthermore, four such indices were constructed, and when applied to data for census tracts in a number of cities in 1940, the inter-correlations between the indices varied from .48 to .96. Consequently, it was concluded that there may be more than one "correct" operational definition of the concept, depending on various assumptions and techniques adopted. The "correctness" of an operational definition was held to depend upon the specified function that it is to perform in a given research problem.²

These results and conclusions raise the question of how to select from among the many possible indices, the one which is "best" or most "correct" for a given research problem. This question has subsequently been discussed by several persons commenting on the original

¹¹ Douglass, *The Springfield Church Survey*, p. 279.

¹² C.R. 7.7—almost no chance that the difference was due to chance or to the size of the samples.

¹³ C.R. 7.7.

¹⁴ Chi square 100.9—almost no chance that the difference could have been due to chance or to the size of the samples.

¹⁵ C.R. 10.

¹⁶ C.R. 10.

¹ Julius A. Jahn, Calvin F. Schmid, and Clarence Schrag, "The Measurement of Ecological Segregation," *American Sociological Review*, 12 (June 1947), 293-303.

² *Ibid.*, p. 303.

paper. One answer suggested would be to deny the possibility that more than one index logically corresponding to the concept of ecological segregation could exist. This index would be "best" for all studies and purposes, and all others would necessarily be invalid or equivalent.³

This simple solution is contradicted by the mathematical and empirical results of the original paper, and has been rejected for reasons presented elsewhere.⁴

Another answer would be to adopt an index which has been most frequently used for similar problems.⁵ This solution is also rejected because the conventional usage of an index often depends upon its being presented in elementary textbooks, without consideration of the conditions and assumptions of its derivation and of the possible alternatives which would be more appropriate for other conditions and assumptions.

Two general criteria that may be used in the derivation and selection of an index have been suggested previously: (1) *the criterion of prediction*, and (2) *the criterion of reproducibility*.⁶ The use of *prediction* as a criterion is commonly proposed to "validate" any new index or measure by its correlation with some "outside criterion." This, however, is usually difficult, if not impossible, to achieve in practice, especially in the definition of a new index. There is often no acceptable "outside criterion" available. If there were, the new index probably would not be needed. Furthermore, even if there is an acceptable outside criterion, it is necessary to define the proposed index before the "criterion of prediction" can be applied.

The "criterion of reproducibility" has recently been formulated and applied by Guttman in the statistical theory and method called "scale anal-

ysis."⁷ The problem involved in "scale analysis" is the reduction of an indefinitely large set of qualitatively defined variables to a single ordinarily defined "scale score." The theory of "scale analysis" defines conditions under which such a reduction is to be made, and derives a number of useful theorems based on the assumption that these conditions are met, i.e., that the set of variables is "scalable." One of these conditions is a measure of "reproducibility." This is defined as the per cent of all individuals in a defined population who can be correctly classified with respect to the original set of variables, from knowledge of the "scale score" of an individual and the joint frequency distribution of the set of variables for the population. In addition, "scale analysis" provides certain techniques for testing the hypothesis that a defined set of variables is "scalable" for a given population, by use of a sample of the set of variables and a random sample of individuals in the population.⁸

This use of "reproducibility" in scale analysis has immediately suggested its use in the derivation and selection of an index of ecological segregation. As will be shown later, however, the resulting index, including the specific conditions and assumptions involved in its derivation, differs in form and application from that of scale analysis. The derived index, to be called here the "index of segregation," differs also from the "indices of ecological segregation" previously constructed and reported, particularly in the use of "reproducibility" as an explicit assumption in its derivation.

The index was originally derived for use in the analysis of results of a recent area sample survey of ethnic groups in Seattle, Washington.⁹ It was derived and selected for this study as being more appropriate to the given conditions and assumptions than any alternative index that was available. However, since these conditions and assumptions can be defined to apply quite generally, not just to ecological segregation, the

³ Richard Hornseth, "A Note on 'The Measurement of Ecological Segregation' by Julius Jahn, Calvin F. Schmid, and Clarence Schrag," *American Sociological Review*, 12 (October 1947), 603-604.

⁴ Jahn, Schmid, and Schrag, "Rejoinder to Dr. Hornseth's Note on 'The Measurement of Ecological Segregation,'" *American Sociological Review*, 13 (April 1948), 216-217.

⁵ Josephine J. Williams, "Another Commentary on So-Called Segregation Indices," *American Sociological Review* 13 (June 1948), 298-304. A conclusion of this writer is that "An index based on Chi-square is satisfactory with respect to comparability, generality and under certain assumptions, sampling theory. In general, I should think it as good an index as any, if k (the number of sub-classes) is not too large." (p. 303).

⁶ Jahn, Schmid, and Schrag, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

⁷ Louis Guttman, "A Basis for Scaling Qualitative Data," *American Sociological Review*, 9 (April 1944), 139-150.

⁸ Louis Guttman, "The Cornell Technique of Scale and Intensity Analysis," in C. W. Churchman (ed.), *Measurement of Consumer Interest*.

⁹ Julius A. Jahn, "Principles and Methods of Area Sampling Applied to a Survey of Employment, Housing, and Place of Residence of White and Non-white Ethnic Groups in Seattle, Washington, July to October 1947." Ph.D. Thesis, University of Washington, June 1949.

derived index as well as the principles and methods involved in the derivation should be found useful in many other research problems.

DERIVATION OF THE INDEX

1. *Definition of the Population.* Persons residing in a certain area (e.g., Seattle, Washington) during a certain period of time (e.g., July-October, 1947).

2. *Definition of the Variables.* Two qualitatively defined variables were given: A.—"Place of Residence," sub-classified into M sub-areas; and B.—"Ethnic Group" classification, with two sub-classes: (1) White and (2) Non-white.

3. *Available Information.* There was given a 2 by M table representing the number of persons statistically estimated to be in the various sub-classes of "Place of Residence" and "Ethnic Group." The number of persons estimated to be in the a'th sub-area and the b'th ethnic group is represented by the symbol N_{ab} .

4. *Use of the Information.* The information was to be used for the statistical description of the defined population with respect to the defined variables. For purposes of summarization or "reduction" of the data, the empirically obtained frequency distribution can be represented by a simpler form or "mathematical model." A mathematical model of an empirical frequency distribution is another frequency distribution with the same form and definition of variables, but with the frequencies in the sub-classes derived mathematically from a smaller number of parameters computed from the original empirical distribution. The model is derived from the original distribution in order to represent it in the sense that the frequencies of the original empirical distribution can be reproduced from those of the model with a certain amount of error.¹⁰

The error of reproducibility is to be measured by the algebraic sum of the differences between the empirical frequencies (N_{ab}) and the corresponding frequencies in the model (N'_{ab}) for all sub-classes in the 2 by M table. The

¹⁰ A familiar example of a "mathematical model" of this type is the use of the "normal curve" to represent an empirical frequency distribution for a quantitatively defined variable. Guttman's concept of a "scalable universe" in another example of a mathematical model used to represent the empirical multivariate frequency distribution of a large number of qualitatively defined variables, but in a different sense than has been defined in the present paper.

symbol E_s is to be used for this measure of the error of reproducibility.

The model to be used is that of "complete segregation." This is defined to mean that N'_{ab} equals 0 or N_{aT} , the total number of persons in the a'th sub-area, depending on whether N_{ab} is less than or greater than N_{ac} , a limiting value for N_{ab} selected to minimize the errors of reproducibility, E_s . Under the given conditions, it can be shown that the choice of N_{ac} to equal $N_{aT}/2$ will minimize E_s .¹¹ In the present application, for example, if the statistically estimated number of non-white persons (N_{a2}) is equal to or less than one-half of the total number of persons in a sub-area (N_{aT}), the corresponding number of non-white persons in the model (N'_{a2}) will be 0. Also, if the estimated number of non-white persons in a sub-area is greater than one-half of the total number of persons in the sub-area, the corresponding number of non-white persons in the model will be equal to the total number of persons in the sub-area (N_{aT}).

5. *General Properties of the Index of Segregation.* The index of segregation has been derived as a measure of the "error of reproducibility" from the model of "complete segregation" with the following properties: (a) Only two empirically determined measures are involved: E_s = the observed error of reproducibility measured for a given empirical frequency distribution, and E_m = the maximum possible value that E_s could take for the given empirical distribution. (b) Values of the index are equal to the difference between the observed and the maximum possible error or reproducibility as a proportion of the maximum error. (c) The lower limit of the index is equal to 0, when the observed error of reproducibility is equal to the maximum possible error. This occurs when the number of persons in one of the ethnic groups is equal to less than one-half of the total number of persons in every one of the sub-areas. (d) The upper limit of the index is 1 when the observed error of reproducibility is 0. This occurs when the empirical frequency distribution is exactly the same as the model of "complete segregation." The formula for the index of segregation can be written to exhibit these properties as follows:

$$I_s = \frac{E_m - E_s}{E_m}$$

In order to simplify the computation of this

¹¹ Jahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-136.

index, the formula has been transformed. Let N_{T2} equal the total number of persons in the ethnic group with the smaller number of persons in the defined population. This will be called the "minority" group (e.g., the non-white persons in Seattle). Let N_{21} equal the total number of persons in the "majority" ethnic group (e.g., the white) who are residing in sub-areas in which there are none according to the model of "complete segregation." Let N_{12} equal the total number of persons in the "minority" ethnic group (e.g., non-white) who are residing in sub-areas in which there are none according to the model of "complete segregation." Then it can be shown that under the given conditions, E_m is equal to $2N_{T2}$, and that E_s is equal to $2(N_{12} + N_{21})$.¹² Therefore, the computational form of the index can be written as

$$I_s = \frac{N_{T2} - (N_{12} + N_{21})}{N_{T2}}$$

The 2 by M table of empirical frequencies can be transformed for computing this index into a 2 by 2 table of the type shown in Table 1. In this table, the original two sub-classes of ethnic groups are retained in the columns, but the M sub-areas are consolidated into two "ethnic areas." Area 1 includes all sub-areas in which the number of persons in the "majority" ethnic group was equal to or greater than one-half the total number in the sub-area for the empirical distribution, and equal to the total number of persons in the sub-area for the model of complete segregation. Briefly, it can be called the "area of segregation of the majority group." Area 2 includes all sub-areas in which the number of persons in the "minority" ethnic group was greater than one-half the total number in the sub-area for the empirical distribution, and equal to the total number according to the model. It can be called the "area of segregation of the minority group."

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 134-138. This index is identical in general form with an index of "predictability" previously developed by Guttman and discussed in *The Prediction of Personal Adjustment*, Social Science Research Council Bulletin #48, pp. 258-263. Also, given the same set of data, the numerical value of Guttman's index for the prediction of Ethnic Group Classification from knowledge of "Place of Residence" is the same as for the "Index of Segregation." This results from both having algebraically the same definitions of "error" as well as the same form. However, the two indices are distinctly different in other respects, in their purposes, derivations, and interpretations.

TABLE 1. NUMBER OF PERSONS IN THE DEFINED POPULATION CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO "ETHNIC GROUP" AND "ETHNIC AREA"

A. "Ethnic Areas"	B. Ethnic Groups		Totals
	1. "Majority"	2. "Minority"	
1. "Majority"	N_{11}	N_{12}	N_{1T}
2. "Minority"	N_{21}	N_{22}	N_{2T}
Totals	N_{T1}	N_{T2}	N

As an illustration of the application of this index, the results of an area sample survey in Seattle in 1947 provided information on the estimated numbers of persons sub-classified by A = block of residence by city blocks, and B = ethnic group, sub-classified into (1) white and (2) non-white, as shown in Table 2. The value of the "index of segregation" computed from these data is 0.63, using the computational formula given above. The value of the index has also been computed in the same manner except that "place of residence" was sub-classified by census tracts, and the result was lower than when blocks were used: 0.17 compared to 0.63.¹³

TABLE 2. ESTIMATED NUMBER OF PERSONS IN SEATTLE, WASHINGTON: 1947, SUB-CLASSIFIED BY "ETHNIC GROUP" AND "ETHNIC AREA"

A. Ethnic Areas (Blocks)	B. Ethnic Groups		Totals
	1. White	2. Non-white	
1. "White"	377,349	5,106	382,455
2. "Non-white"	2,804	16,460	19,264
Totals	380,153	21,566	401,719

POSSIBLE VARIATIONS IN THE INDEX

In the foregoing derivation of the "index of segregation," it is apparent that variations in the given conditions and principles adopted would have resulted in a variety of different resulting indices. For example, more than two ethnic groups might have been given. The model of "complete non-segregation" might have been chosen instead of (or in addition to) that of "complete segregation." The model might include additional parameter values for use in reproducing the empirical frequencies. The frequencies in the bivariate distribution might have been given as percentages or pro-

¹³ *Ibid.* pp. 85-88. This difference in the value of the index of segregation according to the size of the sub-areas used in the computation was suggested as a possibility in the original paper on "The Measurement of Ecological Segregation," Footnote 2, p. 284.

portions of the total number in the several ethnic groups or sub-areas. Errors of reproducibility might have been measured by differences in such percentages. The total error of reproducibility could be defined as the sum of the squares of the differences. The limiting value used to determine the application of the model frequencies could have been some ratio other than one-half the total number in the sub-area. All of these alternatives have been considered and developed to some extent, some of them leading to the derivation of the "indices of ecological segregation" previously constructed and reported.

CONCLUSIONS

Returning to the question of which index is "best" for a given problem, it is proposed that the choice be made by taking into account the following considerations: (1) The explicit statement of the conditions, principles, and methods involved in the derivation of the index, (2) the correspondence between the conditions assumed in the derivation and those occurring in a given research problem, and (3) the acceptance of the principles and methods involved in the derivation by anyone considering its use.

The present paper has been primarily concerned with the first of these considerations, an explicit statement of the derivation of the "index of segregation." The last two considerations involve personal judgments and preferences in relation to the given research problem. In the case of the area sample survey to which it was applied, the derived index was more acceptable than any alternative index that was available or derived, particularly for its relatively simple derivation and rapid computation.

The derived "index of segregation" is not proposed as the "best" index, but rather as one which should be considered by others with research problems involving similar conditions and purposes. Furthermore, it is suggested that many other problems of "index construction," "quantification," or "reduction of data" in various fields of social research may be solved by the similar use of some defined "mathematical model" and measure of the degree of "reproducibility."

SOCIOLOGY IN POSTWAR POLAND

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Before the war Poland had the most highly organized and productive center of sociology in Europe. It had a flourishing Sociological Institute at the University of Poznan, a first-rate

scientific journal (the *Polish Sociological Review*, the eighth volume of which was published in 1939), a growing number of sociologists who were being trained for research and teaching at three universities, and extensive research activities, many of them supported by government funds, in the ecology of the city, in rural sociology, in social stratification, and in social movements. Important contributions to sociological theory and methodology, particularly in the technique of collecting and interpreting life-history material, were made in the period between the two world wars. The history of this period has been ably summarized by Eileen Znaniecka.¹ Dr. Znaniecka concludes her report with a very pessimistic prediction. She writes: "The future of Polish Sociology is exceedingly doubtful. Most of the older generation of sociologists mentioned in these pages have died or been executed by the Nazis. The fate of the younger generation who remained in Poland is entirely unknown." The only hope that Dr. Znaniecka held out at that time was that the few sociologists who escaped from the holocaust to America might form "a nucleus for the future development of Polish Sociology."

Fortunately, this prediction has not come true. The resurgence of Polish Sociology has been as remarkable as the recovery of Poland from the devastations of war. In the country as a whole, most pre-war standards of production and cultural activity have been surpassed; similarly, sociology, in many respects, is more advanced and more active than it was before the war. Instead of three, there are now five departments of sociology in operation at the universities of Lodz, Lublin, Poznan, Warsaw, and Wroclaw. Hundreds of students are seeking sociological training. At the University of Lodz, which has three chairs in sociology and ten instructors, one hundred and ninety-three students registered as majors in sociology for the current academic year, making the sociology department the largest of its sixteen divisions. The publication of the *Sociological Review* has been resumed.² Not only is the gap that resulted from the isolation of Polish sociologists from the rest of the sociological world during the war being rapidly closed, but a greatly intensified

¹ In G. Gurvitch and W. E. Moore (ed.), *Twentieth Century Sociology* (New York: The Philosophical Library, 1945), pp. 703-717. See also T. Abel, *The Nature and Use of Biograms*, *American Journal of Sociology*, September, 1947, pp. 111-118.

² *Przegląd Socjologiczny*, vol. IX, 1947, 573 pp.; Vol. X, 1948, 841 pp.

research program is beginning to produce original contributions.

The restoration of sociology in Poland is largely due to the initiative and organizing ability of Josef Chalasiński, a pupil of Znaniecki and a former Rockefeller fellow. Before the war he was director of the Institute of Rural Sociology and achieved an international reputation with his monumental research monograph on the young generation of Polish peasants.³ Chalasiński is head of the department of sociology at the University of Łódź and chief editor of the *Review*. He is also chairman of the State Commission for Higher Education. The other outstanding sociologists in Poland today are Stanisław Ossowski, who heads the department and the research organizations connected with the University of Warsaw, and Tadeusz Szczurkiewicz, the chairman of the sociology department at the University of Poznań. Professor Ossowski is the author of *Historical Laws in Sociology* (Warsaw, 1935) and *The Social Bond and Bloodkinship* (Warsaw, 1939). Professor Szczurkiewicz is the author of *Race, Environment and the family* (Poznań, 1939) and *Social Structure and the Process of Individualization* (Poznań, 1939). A number of promising younger sociologists died as victims of the Nazi campaign which aimed at the extermination of the Polish intelligentsia. Among these were W. Okiski, executed by a firing squad, and S. Rybicki, who was starved and tortured to death in a concentration camp. Among those who survived and are now actively forging ahead as teachers and researchers are Nina Assorodobaj, Jan Szczepański, St. Kowalski, Jan Strelecki and J. Lutynski.

ACADEMIC PROGRAM

Since Poland is included in the so-called "Iron Curtain" countries where intellectual activities are presumed to show a special bias, a brief consideration of the offerings in the department of sociology at the University of Łódź in 1948-49 may be of interest. The main work of the department was carried on in seminars. Two of them, called proseminars, were for first year students. A third seminar was devoted to the history of sociology in which the works of Comte, Spencer, Marx, LePlay, Dilthey, and Durkheim were discussed. There were also

papers on French bourgeois thought of the Restoration Period, on Western liberalism in the twentieth century, on the development of nationalistic ideologies, on Catholic social thought and on other subjects of similar scope. The fourth seminar was for second year students. The problems considered in it were interclass mobility, particularly with reference to the problem of social advancement and degradation; the process of formation of class-consciousness and occupational "mentality"; and the concept of social class in the writings of Marx and Engels. The fifth seminar was for students in their third and fourth years of study. The general subject of the seminar was the typology of social movements in relation to socio-economic structures. This question was discussed on the basis of the writings of R. H. Tawney and P. Hazard (*The Crisis of European Conscience* 1680-1715). Beside these, three major monographic studies by Soviet scientists were considered: Smirin's, *The National Reformation of Muntzer and The Great Peasant War* (1947), Porshniev's, *The National Uprising in France before the Fronde* (1947), and Kan's *Two Uprisings of Silesian Weavers in 1793 and 1844* (1948). A sixth seminar was devoted to advanced social research in which the staff of the department and the students who have become members of the Sociological Institute participated.

The general courses offered during the year covered the following topics: Social Structures in Primitive Society; Systematic Sociology, dealing with social groups, social organization, and social factors in personality; Theories of Social Structure; the Sociology of Work; Sociology in Relation to Social and Intellectual Currents of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries; Sociological Problems of Education; Methodology of Social Research; Social Statistics and Demography. Such a program of instruction seems to compare favorably with the program of any large department of sociology in the United States. The structural-functional approach is characteristic for the program as a whole. Theoretical and methodological concepts and problems are developed in conjunction with the systematic analysis of historical types of social organization and of social processes in particular societies. The didactic part of the program is closely integrated with the research activities of the department which aim at the systematic observation of structural determinants of social processes operative in contemporary society.

³ *Młode Pokolenie Chłopów*, in four volumes, Warsaw, 1939. An abbreviated version (in two volumes) edited by J. Poniatowski and G. Herlinga-Grudziński was published in Rome in 1946. An English edition is in preparation.

RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

The following large-scale research projects are being carried on at present:

(a) By the *Warsaw* group: Field work in recovered and newly settled territories (Selesia and Pomerania). The object of the project is to study the formation of social bonds, the process of adaptation of settlers to new conditions, the relations between settlers and the native population, and the social consequences of changes in the economic structure of the village. Another long-range project is the ecological study of the city of Warsaw and its surrounding territory which is being conducted in cooperation with the State Planning Office.

(b) By the *Lodz* group: A comprehensive ecological and historical study of the city of Lodz. Five monographs embodying the research findings compiled so far have been published. Since Lodz is the center of Polish industry, the processes of transition from a capitalistic to a socialistic economy can best be studied in this community. The object of the project is to ascertain the social effects of this process on social relations, on the process of re-stratification, on the development of new institutions, and on other changes in the social structure. The group is also conducting two research studies based primarily on biograms of Polish miners and peasants from villages in the neighborhood of industrial centers.

(c) The *Wroclaw* and *Poznan* groups: Ecological research projects in their respective communities.

Polish sociologists are also continuing the plan, originated by Znaniecki before the war, of systematically collecting biograms for the purpose of studying social types, the social history of various institutions, and the processes of social transformation as they are reflected in the experiences of individuals. Several prize-contests are being conducted currently.

The research activities are financed by government appropriations and are being carried on in full cooperation with government agencies.

THE FUTURE OF SOCIOLOGY IN POLAND

Will the present trend of development and expansion of sociology in Poland continue? It has been suggested that since there is no sociology in Soviet Russia it is possible that eventually sociology will be eliminated from the university curriculum. This suggestion, of course, arises on the basis of an assumption that the development of cultural life in Poland is under compulsion closely to parallel Russian customs.

There was no evidence that this condition obtained during my recent visit to Poland. Besides, in my opinion, this view does not consider the important role of scientific research in a planned economy. Even in regard to Soviet Russia, although it is true that Russian universities have no "Departments of Sociology," it is not true that there are no researches of a sociological nature conducted by Russian scientists. Russian sociology before the Revolution of 1917 was essentially social philosophy and reflected all kinds of ideological trends which were elaborated in a speculative fashion. It may be that sociology would have fared differently if, at the time of the October Revolution, it had been established as an independent, empirical science. In any case, I have seen monographs under classifications such as ethnology, ethnography, folkloristics, social history and studies of social processes in connection with social planning that are customarily included in the field of sociology elsewhere.

In Poland, the historical development of sociology took a different turn. Sociologists emancipated themselves from social philosophy shortly after World War I under the leadership of Florian Znaniecki and adopted the methods of objective, scientific research. Even before the last war the important role of sociological research in fact-finding and interpretation was recognized by policy makers. The fact that sociology, as a science, need not incorporate ideological components, was considered established. Therefore, it is not surprising that a place was found for scientific sociology in the new social order after the National Revolution of 1944-45. Furthermore, it is apparent that such a sociology is an essential instrument for the implementation of a policy of rational social planning. That the makers of Polish socialist policy are aware of this is clearly shown by the full support given to sociology so far. This support extends to theoretical research on scientific problems as well as to teaching and the promotion of research on concrete problems of reconstruction.

Thus, the state of sociology in Poland in 1949 contrasts sharply with the pessimistic predictions of the report in 1945 in *Twentieth Century Sociology*. In four eventful years sociology in Poland has become a vigorous and flourishing profession. There seem to be sufficient grounds for optimism concerning the future of Polish sociology and it is to be hoped that prediction at this time will prove to be more in accord with future events than it was in 1945.

COMMUNICATIONS AND OPINION



REFLECTIONS ON THE ANNUAL MEETING

To the Editor:

May I express my hope that in reporting the 44th annual meeting of the ASS you will find space to mention the exhibition, on that occasion, of the latest apparatus manufactured by the Academic Business Machine Corporation, the *Adumbinator*. As you may have noticed, it comes in two sizes, male and female; but neither model is portable, at least for the first twenty minutes in use, during which it must remain firmly attached and slightly leaning over a low table.

To get the best results, the machine should be placed on a low platform before a mass meeting—for example, in a ball room with golden chairs or a golden room with bally chairs. The hall should be filled to overflowing, with knots of extra people standing around the doors to provide an air of tense expectancy. About an hour after the time announced for the demonstration, draw aside the curtain and turn the handle.

The working of the machine is really quite simple. Take any three social facts, well known for at least twenty years. (The older vintages are preferable, since few people will remember them.) Slip them into the slots marked A, B, and C, and watch the little wheels go round.

You will have perceived that the machine is well filled with slugs that convert the material fed into it into astonishingly novel verbalizations. There will come out, for example, many varieties of constructs, levels, patterns, status systems, configurations, normative frequency distributions, and so forth. There will be more structural efficiency variables, stratificatory evaluations, and correlates between these and everything else than could be fashioned by hand in years.

For more elegant projections, a jar of psy-gon mixture should be added. (Pour into the opening marked "psychodynamic.") Crank twice. You will see emerge hundreds of beautiful personality-deficiency stereotypes, role-identification correlates, neuro-perceptual tensions, affectional morale densities, socio-ambivalent leadership factors, and much more.

It will help the effectiveness of the presentation if carpenters are at work behind a screen and the electro-auditory system remains unconnected. To stop the mechanism, it will be useful to keep a sledgehammer handy.

BRUNO LASKER

Yonkers, New York

COMMENT ON THE JONASSEN-SHAW AND MCKAY CONTROVERSY

To the Editor:

Prudent men are advised to keep out of private quarrels, but fools rush in where angels fear to tread. . . .

I would like to intrude a few suggestions into the controversy between Dr. Jonassen, on the one hand, and Professor Shaw and Dr. McKay, on the other.¹ It seems to me that the theoretical positions taken by the parties to the controversy are reconcilable and that such a reconciliation would point the way to extremely fruitful research possibilities. Shaw and McKay have provided us with the basic framework into which the problem of delinquency may be placed. They have shown (1) that the rate of delinquency is a function of the position of the boy's family in the social structure and (2) that position in the social structure correlates very highly with ecological position vis-à-vis the central business district.² These findings articulate nicely with the theoretical analysis of Professor Merton, in which he reasons that a social system which urges the same goal on all strata, i.e., "success," but denies the means of realizing

¹ Christen T. Jonassen, "A Re-evaluation and Critique of the Logic and Some Methods of Shaw and McKay," *American Sociological Review*, xiv (October, 1949), 608-614; Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay, "Rejoinder," *Ibid.*, 614-617.

² Clifford R. Shaw, et al., *Delinquency Areas*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929; Clifford Shaw and H. D. McKay, *Social Factors in Juvenile Delinquency*, National Commission on Law Observation and Enforcement, No. 13, *Report on the Causes of Crime*, Vol. II, Government Printing Office, 1931; Clifford R. Shaw and Henry D. McKay, *Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942.

this goal to the lower stratum has provided the structural condition for a high rate of deviant behavior among this disadvantaged group.³

But Mr. Jonassen is raising an important theoretical question. Where is there room in this conceptual scheme for the differences which we find in the delinquency rates of various national groups? Shaw and McKay reply that these differences may be due to different positions in the social structure occupied by different groups.⁴ If we could control socio-economic disparities between Negroes and whites, there might be no significant difference in crime rates. This is an empirical question, and we must not prejudge it. But even if it were true that no ethnic differences in delinquency rates remain after social structure differences are partialled out, we might still be interested in the cultural differences among ethnic traditions, differences which are presumably responsible for the variability in the placement of these groups in the social structure.⁵

Shaw and McKay have pioneered in delineating the structural setting of the delinquency problem. Mr. Jonassen is suggesting clues for the handling of dynamic problems, e.g., why are some lower-class boys delinquent and others law-abiding? That is to say, the ethnic tradition is an intermediate structure between class position and the personality of the individual. I think that we sociologists have more to say about the probability of a boy becoming delinquent than that it increases as we descend to the bottom levels of the social structure. I think we can add that within a given social stratum certain ethnic groups have advantages over others in securing scarce means to achieve "success." *These advantages are due to the skills and attitudes emphasized by the cultural tradition*, not because of racial differences. Jews and Italians emigrated to the Western world at about the same time, but the Jews are, on the average, higher in the social structure than the Italians today.⁶ And if Merton's theoretical

analysis of the relationship between ends, means, and deviance in a social system is correct, groups with high life-chances like the Jews—because of a congruence between their cultural tradition and the skills required in the American social system—should produce fewer delinquents than groups with low life-chances like the Negroes or the Italians. The empirical evidence, such as we have, seems to be compatible with this analysis.⁷

To sum up: to what extent must we modify the Shaw-McKay conclusion that position in the social structure is the only important, independent non-psychological variable in the delinquency rate of a group of boys? It may be that ethnic variations are irrelevant when social status is equated. On the other hand, it is possible that the crucial consideration is not position in the social structure *per se* but the probability of success for the individual. Our hypothesis might be: the lower the probability of success within the legitimate (institutional) framework, community controls held constant, the higher the probability of delinquent behavior (deviance). If this proposition turns out to be empirically valid, we would have to make explicit provision for ethnic and personality data in our conceptual scheme. That is to say, *position in the social structure, ethnic background, and personality factors* would each be an independent variable contributing to the probability for success. The scientific problem would become the determination of weights in a regression equation. In other words, this would be a refinement of the basic contribution of Shaw and McKay. True, position in the social structure is very highly correlated with life-chances, but in so far as the correlation is imperfect, we must take account of the systematic sources of error.

JACKSON TOBY

Laboratory of Social Relations,
Harvard University

COMMENTS ON THE REVIEW OF *The Social Areas of Los Angeles*

To the Editor:

The October, 1949, issue of the *American Sociological Review* carried a review by E.

Warner and Leo Srole, *The Social Systems of American Ethnic Groups*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1945, p. 96.

⁷ My thesis contains some data on this problem, admittedly inadequate, but it will not be ready for presentation until 1950.

³ Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1949, Chapter 4, "Social Structure and Anomie," pp. 125-149.

⁴ Shaw and McKay, "Rejoinder," p. 616.

⁵ My doctoral dissertation consists of an attempt to explain differences in ethnic delinquency rates as due in the first instance to differentials in the orientation to social mobility on the part of various ethnic traditions and derivatively to group differences in position within the social structure resulting from these differentials.

⁶ Louis Rosenberg, *Canada's Jews*, Montreal: Canadian Jewish Congress, 1939, p. 163; W. L.

Gordon Ericksen of the Eshref Shevky and Marilyn Williams volume on *The Social Areas of Los Angeles*. As one who has examined with great interest the work of Shevky and Williams and has employed with gratifying results their typological scheme, I was disturbed by the superficial and flippant treatment which this excellent book received in the reviewer's hands.

The review's quarrel with the book appears to be principally with its premises and purposes which, according to the reviewer, involve the assumed existence of such fictions as the "average city man," "the typical area" and "the normal urbanite." Since nowhere does the work contain references to such premises and purposes, I must conclude that these are erroneous inferences of the reviewer himself. In shadow-boxing with imputed contentions, Ericksen has either missed or ignored one of the most encouraging contributions to urban ecology in recent years.

The analysis and typology of census tracts described in the book constitute a new urban referential frame and represent a long awaited advance over the urban natural area framework which has failed for some time to please a more sophisticated generation of urban sociologists. Those of us in applied areas who are engaged in urban studies, on the findings of which welfare planning must be based, have been particularly dissatisfied with the results yielded by the application of the older ecological concepts. The Shevky typology is a most welcome contribution; its practical utility has already been demonstrated locally.

Thus, in a study recently completed by the Los Angeles Welfare Council for a branch of the local government the Shevky typological scheme was applied. The problem involved the subdivision of an urban area into smaller internally homogeneous units. Since the Shevky typology affords to each census tract a place in a three-dimensional eighteen-celled scheme, the task of evolving a minimum number of census tract combinations was one of relative simplicity. The results yielded by the Shevky scheme were checked against those obtained by a method which involved the ranking of the tracts comprising the study area on twenty-seven population and socio-economic factors. The number and tract composition of the sub-areas yielded by the two methods were virtually identical, thereby demonstrating the sensitivity of the Shevky scheme which is built upon only seven basic factors.

In view of the demonstrable utility of this

new approach, as well as a potentiality yet to be explored, the work under review merits more serious and dignified criticism than that rendered by Ericksen. Incidentally, the latter's objection to the authors' use of residential data of the census as the basis of their analysis calls into question the validity of census tract figures in general, thereby casting doubt upon all past ecological studies which have employed such data.

ERNEST GREENWOOD

*Welfare Council of
Metropolitan Los Angeles*

To the Editor:

Dr. E. Gordon Ericksen's review of *The Social Areas of Los Angeles* by Eshref Shevky and Marilyn Williams which appeared in the October issue of the *Review* (p. 699) calls for clarifications since it distorts and obscures the essential objectives, characteristics, and conclusions of the monograph.

It is not my purpose to write a general defense of the monograph in question but rather to point out certain irrelevances and unfair imputations contained in the review.

For sake of brevity, I should like first to indicate the central theme and major objectives of the monograph, and second, to quote and comment on a few statements made in the review.

First, Shevky and Williams state that "The study is chiefly concerned with the description and measurement of social differentiation associated with the urban phenomenon of Los Angeles" (p. 33) and that it was designed to serve the following purposes: (1) "An attempt to establish the basis for developing a comprehensive knowledge of Los Angeles" (Preface) and (2) to determine a framework for the comparative study of cities "by utilizing certain objective criteria of urbanization and stratification in modern society" (p. 2).

Second, the review reflects an extreme skepticism of attempts to analyze and systematize the heterogeneous features of the city by the application of quantitative techniques. This point of view, of course, is the prerogative of the reviewer or anyone else, but it is grossly misleading to say that the procedures in this study as well as in others that "have been recently developed . . . comprise, by and large, a series of fruitless imitations of natural science based on the false assumption that the city constitutes a beautiful picture of symmetry; that, like a bell curve, the 'normal' urbanites are those in the majority and to be lumped in the middle, while

the eccentrics and other 'abnormal' people are more or less equally balanced at either pole."

In the following paragraph the reviewer states that "Fashionable Beverly Hills is as much a 'typical' social area of Los Angeles County as unfashionable and blighted Bunker Hill, something which Shevsky and Williams have denied." I have read the monograph most carefully and have failed to find a denial of this kind. On the other hand (p. 66), I did observe separate characterizations of Beverly Hills and Bunker Hill as representing separate social-area types. Again, in the same paragraph the following statement will be found, "To search for uniform areas in a city, and then, to infer that these likewise are 'social areas,'—i.e., that if people in an area look and act alike they therefore *are* alike and will act collectively—is pure fiction." This is an entirely false imputation. There is no statement in the monograph that conveys a meaning indicated by the preceding quotation.

In the next paragraph the reviewer takes exception to the utilization of census data in studies of this kind: "... many readers may object to the drawing of conclusions about Los Angeles on the basis of residential data in the Census. To make generalizations about a modern city in terms of night-time statistics is to provide wrong answers to questions nobody wants answered. What people do at night when asleep throws little light upon the more important daylight activities of urbanites."

I would suggest that Dr. Erickson re-examine more carefully the reports of the Census Bureau.

CALVIN F. SCHMID

University of Washington

A CATHOLIC PROTEST

To the Editor:

As one of the many Catholic subscribers to the *Review*, I protest against two unprovoked and unsubstantiated slurs cast upon the central Church of Christendom in your October issue. There (p. 586) Robert Bierstedt of the University of Illinois serves up a melange of what should explain his "abhorrence of scholasticism." He then proceeds to treat St. Thomas Aquinas "with condescension." In reply let Prof. Clement C. Webb of Oxford University, England, suggest a few of the philosophic facts of life:

I should be inclined to say that there was now, far more than in my younger days, a general agreement among competent scholars that the Schoolmen, especially the best

known of them, St. Thomas, were really important thinkers.

Another eminent British philosopher, Prof. A. E. Taylor of Edinburgh, adds his own tribute: The greatness of St. Thomas as a philosopher seems to me to lie in this, that his work combines high originality with an unsurpassed sobriety of judgement and sense of reality.

Now let an American, Prof. Jay William Hudson of the University of Missouri, have his say:

In the last resort, of course, a system like that of St. Thomas Aquinas has to be considered and evaluated on its own merits. . . . In doing this, I am certain one finds in him one of the great systems of all time. But I wonder how many really understand the great master?

Finally, this from Harvard's George Santayana:

. . . the gibes about Scholastic trifling and quibbling have ceased, or have become a sign of ignorance.

Even more offensive than the slurs at St. Thomas and scholasticism are Pennsylvania State College Jessie Bernard's epithets (in the issue's leading article p. 575) describing the psychology of the Catholic Church as "fascistic and totalitarian." Characteristically fascistic, she offers no evidence and no argument. The fact is that the essential opposition of the Catholic Church to the fascist, totalitarian idea is so obvious that blindness here seems fantastic. Thus Arthur Hadley, then President of Yale University, has for example testified:

Not only was the Church in the middle Ages the most democratic institution in Europe, but the ideals of the Church have taught men to exercise the sort of liberty which makes democracy possible.

Walter Lippmann must be understood as including the Catholic Church in his most impressive tribute:

The liberties we talk about defending today were established by men who took their conception of man from the great central religious tradition of Western civilization, and the liberties we inherit can almost certainly not survive the abandonment of that tradition.

The distinguished Presbyterian political scientist, Prof. James Brown Scott, is even more to the point:

If we of the United States were to have a

patron . . . saint . . . we might indeed do well to choose the Cardinal and sainted Bellarmine, who, strange as it may seem, has perhaps the greatest claim to the gratitude of the people of the United States because he stated and defended in advance those principles of government which the United States have made their own and upon which the government firmly rests.

Einstein the refugee should know something about the "fascistic and totalitarian":

Only the Church stood squarely across the path of Hitler's campaign for suppressing truth. I never had any special interest in

the Church before, but now I felt a great affection and admiration because the Church alone has had the courage and persistence to stand for intellectual truth and moral freedom. I am forced thus to confess that what I once despised I now praise unreservedly.

But enough. If writers in the *Review* wish to attack the faith of its Catholic subscribers, let it be with full documentation and a chance to reply.

J. E. COOGAN, S. J.

*Director, Department of Sociology,
University of Detroit*

OFFICIAL REPORTS *and* PROCEEDINGS



PROCEEDINGS OF THE 44TH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, HELD IN NEW YORK CITY, DECEMBER 27-30, 1949

MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETINGS

The first meeting of the Executive Committee was held on December 27 at 10:00 A.M., with Talcott Parsons presiding. Members present were Kimball Young, Raymond Bowers, Donald Young, Conrad Taeuber, Cecil North, Harrington Brearley, Franklin Frazier, Alvin Good, Philip Hauser, Louis Wirth, Dorothy Thomas.

Mr. Parsons reported briefly on several developments which had occurred during the year:

(1) The election of a new 1950 Reorganization Committee by mail ballot of the Executive Committee, on the basis of the recommendation of the 1949 Reorganization Committee. The 1950 committee is larger and more geographically representative.

(2) The events leading up to the moving of the Society's office to New York, and the establishment of the Executive Office with a part-time paid Executive Officer.

(3) The request by the Society to the Carnegie Corporation for a grant to support reorganizational activities of the Society. This request was granted by the Carnegie Corporation, and \$10,000 was appropriated to the Society for this purpose.

(4) The events leading up to the decision to hold the 1949 meetings in conjunction with the AAAS. It was pointed out that the Society would receive a rebate of \$1.00 for each member registered with the AAAS.

Upon motion, the accounting firm of King and Company was accepted as the auditor of the Society's books.

Irene Taeuber read reports from the Secretary, Treasurer, and Managing Editor of the *Review*, all of which were accepted and approved. These are published herewith in full.

The Committee accepted the Administration Committee's decision to hold the next annual meeting in Denver in September, 1950.

The Committee approved the suggestion of

the chairman that Katharine Jocher be requested to continue as chairman of the Nominating Committee.

Respectfully submitted,
JOHN W. RILEY, JR., *Secretary*

The second meeting of the Executive Committee was held on December 27 at 2:00 P.M., with Talcott Parsons presiding. Members present were Raymond Bowers, Donald Young, Conrad Taeuber, Cecil North, Harrington Brearley, Franklin Frazier, Alvin Good, Philip Hauser, Louis Wirth, Robert Merton, Margaret Hagood, Carl Taylor, Edmund Brunner.

The Committee voted, on the basis of evidence then in hand, to guarantee the Hotel New Yorker seventy-five dinners at the annual banquet. (195 tickets were eventually sold.)

The report of the Budget Committee was presented by Donald Young and accepted.

It was voted to increase the subscription rate of the *Review* for non-members of the Society from \$4.50 to \$5.00.

Upon the retirement of E. W. Burgess as one of the Society's representatives on the Social Science Research Council, Dorothy Thomas was elected for a three-year term.

The report of the 1949 Reorganization Committee was presented by Conrad Taeuber and Raymond Bowers in the temporary absence of Carl Taylor. This report was automatically submitted to the wider and more geographically representative 1950 Reorganization Committee, the personnel of which is: Leonard Cottrell (*ex officio*), Chairman, Gordon Blackwell, Raymond Bowers, Maurice Davie (*ex officio*), Franklin Frazier, Philip Hauser, Harvey Locke, Harry Moore, Talcott Parsons, John Riley (*ex officio*), Frederick Stephan, Conrad Taeuber, Carl Taylor, Dorothy Thomas, Louis Wirth, Donald Young.

The specific recommendations for immediate action made by this report are incorporated in the proposed constitutional amendments and

by-law changes which have been distributed to the membership.

The Executive Committee recommends the adoption of these changes by the membership with minor modifications which will be made in the reading.

Respectfully submitted,
JOHN W. RILEY, JR., *Secretary*

The third meeting of the Executive Committee was held on December 28 at 5:00 P.M., with Talcott Parsons presiding. Members present were Conrad Taeuber, Cecil North, Harrington Brearley, Alvin Good, Louis Wirth, Margaret Hagood, Carl Taylor, Samuel Stouffer.

The Executive Committee took cognizance of the unsatisfactory state of overcrowding in the various session rooms. Mr. Alpert reported that the only possible relief, available either from the Hotel New Yorker or the AAAS, was a large ballroom with a seating capacity of 1,500. This extra space would cost the Society \$500 rental for two days, and the Committee voted not to act.

Mr. Lejins read a memorial from the District Chapter and it was voted that this should be read at the business meeting for the information of the membership and referred to the 1950 Reorganization Committee.

It was moved and passed that Donald Young be added to the 1950 Reorganization Committee and requested to serve as the Chairman of the sub-committee on financial structure. Since Mr. Young is serving as chairman of the present Budget Committee, this will insure continuity in the consideration of the financial affairs of the Society.

The acceptance by the Society of 1950 sponsorship of the Edward L. Bernays Foundation Award on the Social Effects of Radio Television was announced. This involves a prize of \$1,000. Chairman of the committee on the Award is Clyde Hart. Details will be mailed to the membership.

The report of the sub-committee on the functions of the Executive Office was accepted. This office, apart from its basic function in implementing the reorganizational plans of the Society under the Carnegie grant, will handle the financial and management affairs of the Society. To facilitate this recommendation Matilda Riley, the present Executive Officer, was elected Treasurer and Managing Editor and John Riley was re-elected Secretary with instructions to maintain close liaison with the central office.

Mr. Wirth reported for the Committee on Relations with Sociologists in Other Countries. It was voted that the Society be affiliated with the newly formed International Sociological Association the details of which are published below.

Respectfully submitted,
JOHN W. RILEY, JR., *Secretary*

The fourth meeting of the Executive Committee was held on December 29 at 4:30 P.M., with Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., presiding. Members present were Talcott Parsons, Donald Young, Nathan Whetten, Louis Wirth, Margaret Hagood, Harrington Brearley, Robert Merton, Gordon Blackwell, Alvin Good, Cecil North, Conrad Taeuber, Kimball Young.

The first order of business centered around two patterns concerning the 1950 annual meetings. Harvey Locke reported a sentiment from the Pacific Coast Chapter against the Denver meeting on the grounds that Denver is not "west." It was, for example, pointed out that it would take members from the northwest longer to go to Denver than to Chicago. Eugene Link, co-chairman of the Committee on Local Arrangements for the Denver meeting, then reported on the possibility of using a University of Denver building for the meetings at no rental to the Society. This building is two blocks from the Shirley-Savoy Hotel, which has been tentatively reserved for the Society September 6-9, 1950.

After discussion it was voted to confirm the decision of the Administration Committee to hold the next annual meeting of the Society in Denver September 6-9, 1950.

It was voted that the Administration Committee poll the Executive Committee early in 1950 in regard to possible annual meeting plans for 1951 and 1952. Insofar as possible these plans should be coordinated with the plans of societies in closely related fields, especially anthropology, psychology and statistics.

Appointment of a Resolutions Committee was made with the following personnel: Harrington Brearley, chairman, Franklin Frazier, and Paul Landis.

Nathan Whetten was nominated and elected to the Administration Committee.

It was voted that Margaret Hagood should serve on the Executive Committee in a dual capacity—as a member elected at large and as second vice-president—but with a single vote.

The question of membership on the Program Committee was discussed and it was agreed that if the new by-law were passed, the incom-

ing President would obtain the advice and confirmation of the Administration Committee as to its composition for 1950.

Professor Raper reported for the Membership Committee, pointing out that the activities of the past year had emphasized the regional approach. It was voted to transmit his report to the new Membership Committee.

A memorial from the Classification Committee was read asking for a differential in dues between active and associate members. It was voted to refer the matter to the 1950 Reorganization Committee.

It was voted that the Society withdraw from any active participation in the World Federation for Mental Health largely on grounds of budgetary considerations. (Membership dues amount to \$100.)

The following committee chairmen and appointments for the year 1950 were approved:

Nominating Committee: Dr. Katharine Jocher, Chairman, Raymond F. Sletto, Harvey J. Locke, Clifford Kirkpatrick, Harry Moore, Logan Wilson, Conrad Taeuber, Talcott Parsons, Marshall B. Clinard, Robert E. L. Faris, Edgar A. Schuler, Theodore Newcomb, Raymond V. Bowers, Stuart A. Queen, Ernest W. Burgess.

Budget: Donald Young.

Membership: Wellman Warner.

Research: Frederick Stephan.

Statistics: P. K. Whelpton.

Classification: Elbridge Sibley.

Papers for the Annual Meeting: Robert E. L. Faris.

Relations with Sociologists in Other Countries: Louis Wirth.

It was voted that an additional Executive Committee meeting would be held if necessary directly after the Business Meeting on December 30th.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN W. RILEY, JR., *Secretary*

MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

The first Business Meeting of the Society was held at 11:00 A.M. in the Gold Room, The Manhattan Center, on Thursday, December 29, with President Talcott Parsons presiding.

Mr. Parsons summarized the activities of the Reorganization Committee of 1949 and the formation of the new Reorganization Committee of 1950 together with the grant from the Carnegie Corporation which makes possible the creation of an Executive Office.

The minutes of the first three Executive Committee meetings, held in the past two days, were read by the Secretary, and were approved.

The President then called upon Carl Taylor to report on proposed changes in the constitution and by-laws and to introduce motions for their acceptance.

The first amendment pertaining to Article IV, Section 1, was accepted by the Society after brief description by Mr. Parsons that such a measure would bring about better continuity in the official personnel of the Society.

Article IV, Section 1, of the Constitution, as amended, now reads as follows:

"The officers of the Society shall be a President, a President-elect, a first Vice-President, a Second Vice-President, a Secretary and a Treasurer. The President, President-elect, First Vice-President, and Second Vice-President shall be elected by the membership. . . ." (The remainder of that section is to remain unchanged.)

The second proposed amendment, Article VI, Section 2, had been divided into two parts, a and b, when it was considered by the Executive Committee. Mr. Taylor explained that these parts were to be considered separately.

Part a, having to do with the composition of the Executive Committee, up to and including the phrase "regional and affiliated Societies," was accepted.

Part b, consisting of the phrase "and of the recognized Divisions of the Society" was described by Mr. Parsons as entirely permissive since there are at present no such divisions. If and when such divisions are recognized by the Society, they will be represented on the Executive Committee. There were various expressions of opinion for and against passage of this amendment at this time. The motion was lost by a hand vote of fifty in favor to thirty against, which did not give the necessary two-thirds majority of those present and voting.

Article VI, Section 2, of the Constitution, as amended, now reads as follows:

"The Executive Committee shall consist of the President, the President-elect, the two Vice-Presidents, past Presidents for the first three consecutive years after the completion of their respective terms as President, six elected members whose terms shall be three years and two of which shall expire each year, one representative from each of the major regional and affiliated Societies. . . ." (The remainder of that section is to remain unchanged.)

The third proposed amendment, Article X, Section 1, brought forth questions from the

floor as to the meaning of "at least 25 per cent of the voting members." Mr. Link pointed out that if a majority vote of 25 per cent can change the constitution, it means that one-eighth of the membership can effect the change. In the years ahead, it would be possible for a well-organized minority to control the Society. Mr. Link then moved that the last phrase be amended to read: "that 25 per cent of the voting membership participate in the affirmative vote." This motion failed. Mr. Olcott moved to amend the motion to approve this amendment by inclusion of the word "two-thirds" to read: "or by a two-thirds affirmative vote in a referendum." This motion was approved.

Article X, Section 1, of the Constitution, as amended, now reads as follows:

"The Constitution may be amended by vote of two-thirds of those present and voting at any annual meeting, or by a two-thirds affirmative vote in a referendum submitted by mail to the voting members of the Society, provided such a proposal has been previously discussed and approved at a meeting of the Executive Committee and that at least 25 per cent of the voting members of the Society participate in the vote."

The proposed amendment of Article X, Section 3, was amended by motion of Mr. Hart to read: "All proposed amendments to the constitution shall be communicated to the membership at least fifty days prior to the vote on the amendment." Thus publication in the *Review* is no longer mandatory for proposed amendments.

Article X, Section 3, of the Constitution, as amended, now reads as follows:

"All proposed amendments to the Constitution which are to be voted on at an annual meeting shall be communicated to the membership at least fifty days prior to the vote on the amendment."

Leonard Cottrell announced the members of the new Nominating Committee and requested that they meet with the chairman, Katharine Jocher, at the close of the meeting. The members are: Raymond V. Bowers, Ernest W. Burgess, Marshall B. Clinard, Robert E. Faris, Clifford Kirkpatrick, Harvey J. Locke, Harry Moore, Theodore Newcomb, Talcott Parsons, Stuart Queen, Raymond F. Sletto, Edgar A. Schuler, Conrad Taeuber, Logan Wilson.

The proposed amendments to the By-Laws already circulated to the membership were read and commented on by Dr. Taylor so that it would be in order to act upon them the following day. The proposed changes follow:

ARTICLE I. MEMBERSHIP AND DUES.

Section 1. The dues for members shall be changed from six to eight dollars per year, the remainder of the section being unchanged.

Section 3. Registered undergraduate and graduate students in residence at educational institutions who have not completed all requirements for the Ph.D. degree and who are sponsored by a member of the Society, may be admitted to Student membership in the Society for a period not to exceed five years. The dues shall be four dollars per annum, payable in advance. . . .

This Section replaces the following:

Registered undergraduate and graduate students in residence at educational institutions who have not completed all requirements for the Ph.D. and who are sponsored by a member of the Society, may be admitted to Student membership in the Society upon the payment in advance of three dollars per annum. . . .

Section 9. The dues for Joint members shall be changed from seven to nine dollars per year, the remainder of the section being unchanged.

ARTICLE II. ELECTIONS AND VOTING.

Section 1. All officers of the Society elected by the membership at large shall be elected by a mail ballot of the members qualified to vote. The term of office shall be one year except in the case of the President, who shall serve one year as President-elect and one as President. . . .

This Section replaces the following:

All officers of the Society elected by the membership at large shall be elected by a mail ballot for a term of one year. . . .

ARTICLE III. COMMITTEES AND BOARDS.

Section 3. Program Committee. a. The Program Committee for an annual meeting shall be selected two years in advance. It shall consist of the President who is to be responsible for the program, the Secretary, the Editor, and three members elected by the Executive Committee for two year terms.

This Section replaces the following:

The Program Chairman shall be composed of the President, Secretary, and Editor of the *American Sociological Review*, with the President serving as chairman.

SECTION 3. PROGRAM COMMITTEE. b. Delete.

The Section to be deleted reads as follows:

"The Program Committee shall meet upon the call of its chairman." This is an unnecessary statement if funds are budgeted for such a meeting, and if no funds are budgeted the chairman cannot call the meeting.

A suggested change in Section 3c was not read by Mr. Taylor since it was not approved by the Executive Committee.

SECTION 5. STANDING COMMITTEE. b. The Committee on Research shall have specific responsibility for the planning and promotion of the research activities of the Society.

The following section is to be omitted:

Early in each year, it shall take a census of research carried on by members of the Society, publish its findings in a summer number of the *Review*, and also make them available to the section chairmen.

ARTICLE IV. RELATION TO REGIONAL AND OTHER AFFILIATED ORGANIZATIONS.

Section 6. Delete the list of societies with representatives on the Executive Committee.

The listing of affiliated organizations entitled to representation on the Executive Committee of the Society implies that an Amendment to the By-Laws is required for the addition of another such affiliated group, yet no provision is made for this action.

ARTICLE VI. Amendments.

Section 1. Amendments to these By-Laws may be proposed by any member of the Society, and adoption shall require a majority vote of the members present and voting at any annual meeting of the Society. The Executive Committee may, upon two-thirds vote of its members, submit amendments to the By-Laws to the members of the Society by mail ballots, after publication in the *American Sociological Review*, and such amendments shall be adopted upon a two-thirds vote of the members voting within thirty days.

This section eliminates the present provision that the By-Laws may be amended by mail ballot only in the event of the suspension of the annual meeting.

Mr. Parsons interpreted the amendment of Article VI, Section 2, to go into effect with him and not to affect the terms of past presidents already on the Executive Committee.

The meeting adjourned until 11:00 o'clock of the following day.

Respectfully submitted

JOHN W. RILEY, JR., *Secretary*

The second Business Meeting of the Society was held at 11:00 A.M. on Friday, December 30, 1949, in the Gold Room, with President Parsons presiding.

The minutes of the fourth Executive Committee meeting of December 29 were read by the Secretary. A correction was made concerning the planning of meetings two years and not

three years in advance. The minutes were approved as corrected.

A resolution from the Japan Sociological Society was read by the Secretary, in which that Society expressed greetings to the American Sociological Society and the desire for future cooperation. Mr. Faris moved that this memorial be received and that the incoming president appoint three members on a committee to make appropriate reply to this very excellent memorial. The motion was approved. The memorial follows:

RESOLUTION OF THE JAPAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

December, 1949

President,
American Sociological Society

DEAR COLLEAGUES:

The Japan Sociological Society, established in 1924, represents scholars in sociology and allied fields throughout Japan. The Society has at present a membership of 550; it publishes a quarterly journal; and it holds an annual meeting for the presentation of research reports and for the conduct of the business of the Society. The annual meeting for 1949 was held in Tokyo on October 15 and 16, and was attended by more than 250 members. Fifty-five papers on research and theory were presented. At this meeting it was decided, by unanimous vote, to forward the following resolution to the American Sociological Society:

Resolution

In the past, sociology in Japan has suffered from political repression and official discouragement. The general public, under the tutelage of ultra-nationalistic leaders, was at best indifferent to the science of sociology, at worst it was hostile. This atmosphere was scarcely conducive to scientific progress, and funds and facilities for teaching and research were necessarily limited and uncertain.

But now democracy has become Japan's ideological goal and the cardinal principle of political reorganization. Since democracy teaches critical awareness of one's own social milieu, social studies have become vital courses of instruction in the new elementary and high schools, and in the universities sociology is now a required subject. These developments augur well for the future of the science of sociology in Japan, and provide heavy responsibilities as

well as great advantages for Japanese sociologists.

If we, the sociologists of Japan, are to fulfill these responsibilities and make our science serve the needs of our new democratic state, we must study American experiences and achievements. American sociology is incomparably richer both in scientific content and professional resources, and it has had the magnificent opportunity of developing and flowering in a democratic environment. It is our very earnest wish, therefore, to enter into correspondence with the American Sociological Society and its members on matters of intimate concern to the establishment and improvement of our science. During the past four years, we have enjoyed intimate contacts with your colleagues in the Public Opinion and Sociological Research Division of the Civil Information and Education Section of SCAP. They have freely given us their time and their knowledge of recent trends in the social sciences, and they join us in our desire to improve and extend our relationships with sociologists in the United States. We would, therefore, be pleased to receive information from you or from appropriate individuals and institutions concerning:

- 1) Opportunities for study for Japanese students and scholars in sociology in American institutions.
- 2) Opportunities and interest that might exist for the interchange of research monographs and papers.
- 3) Opportunities in American institutions and research foundations for travel and research funds to be granted American students and scholars for work in Japan.

We are particularly interested in opportunities for collaborative research with visiting scholars, and pledge our wholehearted cooperation in their work.

With salutations and best wishes to all our American scientific colleagues, and with hope for the future of sociology in both our countries, we remain,

Yours very sincerely,
The Japan Sociological Society
TEIZO TODA
President

A memorial from the District of Columbia Chapter was read by the secretary in which that Chapter raised the question of the permanent location of the executive office and pointed out the desirability of such location being in the nation's capital. President Parsons explained

that no action was required, and that the Executive Committee had acceded to both requests in the memorial: (1) that it be read at a meeting of the Society and (2) that it be referred to the 1950 Reorganization Committee. The memorial follows:

MEMORIAL TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
FROM THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CHAPTER
OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

The District of Columbia Chapter of the American Sociological Society desires to extend its commendation to the Executive, Reorganization, and Administration Committees of the American Sociological Society for their several and combined efforts and accomplishments in strengthening the organizational structure of the American Sociological Society. The membership and officers of the District Chapter are especially gratified at the tangible progress that has been made, because the present movement to reorganize the Society had its inception in the District Chapter.

However, the most recent development in the reorganization plan, namely, moving the secretariat of the Society from the Washington, D.C., area to New York, is a step which causes considerable concern to the District Chapter. In order to better understand this concern a brief restatement of the history of the present reorganization might be helpful. Proposals made by the Representative of the District Chapter to the Executive Committee which were instrumental in the creation of the Reorganization Committee included the following:

1. That there should be a paid permanent national secretariat.
2. That an appeal might be made to a national foundation as one means of financing the cost of expanded activities of the national secretariat.
3. That the services of the American Sociological Society should be expanded both with regard to functions performed for members and activities undertaken to advance the profession of sociology.
4. That the office of the director of the national secretariat should be a full-time position for a sociologist, rather than an adjunct to other full-time duties as has been the case in the past.
5. That the headquarters of the American Sociological Society should be moved to Washington because of its strategic location.

The advantages of a Washington area head-

quarters for the American Sociological Society, as compared with other possible locations, are both real and significant; and the recommendation that the secretariat be established in this area was one of the key proposals in the plan for development of the Society. If located in the Washington area the secretariat could provide liaison between the profession and government agencies. It could contribute to the formation of agency policies, and advance the interests of sociology in legislative hearings. It could assist in the placement of trained sociologists in positions in government service most closely related to their special qualifications.

The sociologists of Washington include specialists in all of the branches of sociology, and by academic background represent all sections of the nation and practically every institution in the country offering training in sociology. There are in the metropolitan area of Washington several universities offering extensive staff facilities in the field of sociology. It is reasonable that the headquarters of the society should be located near the seat of the nation's government, which is the largest employer of sociologists and which is the principal source of financial aid to social research. The extreme importance attached to location in Washington, within easy reach of the government, has been appreciated by several other national organizations.

In view of the aforementioned, the District of Columbia Chapter urges that full consideration be given to the advantages of the National Capital area as the location of the secretariat, and strongly urges its reestablishment there.

The Chapter requests that the membership of the American Sociological Society be acquainted with this memorial at the business meeting of the Forty-fourth Annual Meeting of the Society; and also that it be referred to the 1950 Reorganization Committee.

This memorial was read at the regular meeting of the District of Columbia Chapter on December 12, 1949; and on a motion from the floor, its adoption for transmission to the Executive Committee of the American Sociological Society was voted unanimously by the members of the District Chapter present.

Mr. Hart made a brief statement about the Edward L. Bernays Foundation award, consisting of a \$1,000 United States Government Bond to be awarded as a prize for the best piece of research into the effects of radio and television upon American society. This offer has been accepted by the Society, and a committee of

judges has been appointed which includes: Messrs. Brunner, Berelson, Hovland, Merton, Suchman, DeVinney, Newcomb, and Hart, chairman. The rules will be distributed early in January, and requests may be addressed to the Executive Office or the chairman of the committee.

The report on the Social Science Research Council was announced as received. It was not read in the meeting as it will be published in full in the *Review*.

Mr. Wirth gave a report of the organizational meetings of the new International Sociological Association of which he has been elected president *pro tem*. Mr. Wirth's report has been received by the Executive Committee which voted that the American Sociological Society accept membership. Mr. Wirth said that this is to be a body created for purely scientific purposes, organized on the principle of confederation of associations, though individual members will be recognized as representatives from countries which have no associations, and that this body will have no structure for power or control. Mr. Wirth has paid the ten dollars dues and has given a little more to help the organization get started. He asked that the Administration Committee consider a larger contribution and that individual members join at one dollar each. An international meeting is planned for late in 1950 in Zurich. The Constitution of the International Sociological Association and a report from the Committee on Relation with Sociologists in Other Countries will be published in the *Review*.

A report received from the Society's representative to the American Prison Congress was summarized by the Secretary. This will be published in the *Review*.

Mr. Lejins moved that the American Sociological Society go on record as agreeing with the concern expressed by the American Prison Association for the continuation of the proper collection of statistics and expressed hope that the agency now doing the work will continue. Louis Wirth stated that the Society has an effective committee on statistics which has good relations with government agencies. The motion was summarized by the chairman to read: "The Society takes cognizance of this report by the American Prison Congress, expresses its concern over the inadequacy of crime statistics, and refers the matter to Dr. Whelpton's Committee on Statistics." The motion was approved.

Mr. Brearley gave a report of the Resolutions Committee, consisting of Messrs. Brearley, Frazier and Landis as follows: *Be it resolved*

by the officers and members of the American Sociological Society (1) *That* the very sincere thanks of the Society be extended to Dr. Irene Taeuber for her able and unselfish services in reorganizing the affairs of the Society during her term of office as Secretary-Treasurer and Managing Editor of the *Review*; (2) *That* the Society record its gratitude to the Carnegie Corporation of New York for its financial assistance to plans for reorganization and development during the next three years; (3) *That* the Society is deeply appreciative of the extensive labors of its 1949 Committee on Reorganization, of its helpful suggestions, and of its success in keeping its expenses at a minimum; (4) *That* Northwestern University, the University of Maryland, and Columbia University be given a note of thanks for their assistance by providing free office space for the use of the Society; (5) *That* thanks also be offered to the Hotel New Yorker, to the Society's committee on local arrangements with Dr. Harry Alpert as chairman, and to the officers of the American Association for the Advancement of Science for their efforts in arranging for this annual meeting of the Society under exceptionally adverse circumstances.

Mr. Taylor then proposed the changes in the By-Laws, and presented motions on each change.

The motion to change Article I, Sections 1, 3, and 9 was passed.

Beginning on the fourth line of Article I, Section 1, of the By-Laws, the amended sentence now reads:

"Except as hereinafter specified the dues for membership in the Society shall be eight dollars per annum . . ." (The remainder of the section unchanged.)

Article I, Section 3, as amended, now reads:

"Registered undergraduate and graduate students in residence at educational institutions who have not completed all requirements for the Ph.D. degree and who are sponsored by a member of the Society, may be admitted to Student membership in the Society for a period not to exceed five years. The dues shall be four dollars per annum, payable in advance. . . ." (The remainder of the section unchanged.)

Article I, Section 9, as amended, now reads:

"Joint membership in the categories for which they are eligible may be taken out by a husband and wife upon payment of dues of nine dollars per annum. . . ." (The remainder of the section unchanged.)

The motion to change Article II, Section 1,

was passed as amended by a successful motion of Mr. Faris. This Section now reads:

"All officers of the Society elected by the membership at large shall be elected by a mail ballot of the members qualified to vote. The term of office shall be one year or until their successors are qualified, except in the case of the President, who shall serve one year as President-elect and one as President. . . ." (The remainder of the section is unchanged.)

The motion to change Article III, Section 3a and to delete Section 3b was passed. Section 3a now reads:

"Program Committee. The Program Committee for an annual meeting shall be selected two years in advance. It shall consist of the President who is to be responsible for the program, the Secretary, the Editor, and three members elected by the Executive Committee for two year terms."

The chairman, at this point, interpreted the sense of the Executive Committee to the effect that the three elected members of the 1950 Program Committee will be elected by the Administration Committee.

The motion to delete the last sentence of Article III, Section 5b, making mandatory the taking and publication of an annual census of research, was passed. This section, as amended, now reads:

"The Committee on Research shall have specific responsibility for the planning and promotion of the research activities of the Society."

The motion to delete Article IV, Section 6, which lists the societies with representatives on the Executive Committee, was passed.

The motion to change Article VI, Section 1, was passed after discussion. It was pointed out that changes in the By-Laws could be initiated either by a member of the Society or by the Executive Committee. This section, as amended, reads:

"Amendments to these By-Laws may be proposed by any member of the Society, and adoption shall require a majority vote of the members present and voting at any annual meeting of the Society. The Executive Committee may, upon two-thirds vote of its members, submit amendments to the By-Laws to the members of the Society by mail ballots, after publication in the *American Sociological Review*, and such amendments shall be adopted upon a two-thirds vote of the members voting within thirty days."

The meeting was adjourned at 12:30 P.M.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN W. RILEY, JR., Secretary

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RELATIONS WITH SOCIOLOGISTS IN OTHER COUNTRIES

1. The Committee on Relations with Sociologists in other countries, consisting of E. Franklin Frazier, Conrad Taeuber, Philip M. Hauser, and Louis Wirth, Chairman, has carried on extensive correspondence with individual sociologists, sociological organizations and journals in the interests of gathering information and strengthening relations between American sociologists and those of other countries. It was recommended that this activity be continued and be facilitated as far as possible by the Secretariat of the American Sociological Society.

2. The Committee has also carried on considerable correspondence and informal discussions with agencies of the United Nations, particularly UNESCO. It is recommended that the relationships thus far developed be continued and strengthened.

3. In accordance with the authorization of the executive committee, the Chairman of the Committee on Relations with Sociologists in other countries was designated to represent the Society at meetings convened by UNESCO with a view to organizing an international sociological association. Accordingly, the Chairman of the Committee represented the Society at the Constituent Congress of the International Sociological Association which was convened under the auspices of UNESCO and was held in Oslo, Norway, September 5-11, 1949. This was the first world conference on sociology to meet since 1937. The participating members came from twenty-one countries: Austria, Belgium, Canada, Cuba, Denmark, Egypt, Finland, France, Germany, India, Israel, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States of America, Uruguay.

The representatives present agreed on a set of Statutes and on a Provisional Council and a Provisional Executive Committee as well as Provisional Officers. The officers and members of the Executive Committee who were designated to serve until the first Congress of the Association are:

Provisional President:

Prof. L. Wirth (United States of America)

Provisional Vice-Presidents:

Prof. G. Davy (France)

Prof. M. Ginsberg (Great Britain)

Provisional Members:

I. Ganon (Uruguay)

Th. Geiger (Denmark)

H. Khosla (India)

R. Konig (Switzerland)

S. Ossowski (Poland)

A. Zaki (Egypt)

Mr. E. Rinde (Norway) was appointed Secretary-General and Provisional Treasurer of the Association, which will have its headquarters temporarily in Oslo.

Reports were received on the state of sociology in the different countries represented and a program of activities was agreed upon for the Association until the first Congress which is tentatively planned to be held in Zurich, Switzerland in early September 1950. Meanwhile, the representatives at the meeting were requested to lay the proposal to affiliate with the international organization before their respective national sociological societies or, in case no societies exist, to confer with their colleagues in their respective countries. The provisional program of the society includes the following objectives:

(1) To facilitate in the field of sociology, on a world scale, exchanges of professors, research workers and students, and to draw the attention of interested scientific associations and institutions of higher education to the need for this action and on the possibilities afforded in this field.

(2) To decide upon means of promoting the exchange of documents concerning sociological knowledge, inquiries and technique for the purpose of stimulating research and teaching.

(3) To encourage sociological research in the various countries and, when it seems advisable, to co-ordinate such research in different countries, in order that individuals and research centers may benefit from experiments in analogous subjects carried out by their colleagues in other countries; to seek means of achieving a wider dissemination of sociological techniques, for the purpose of making them more precise and more easily comparable by the use of identical methods in differing economic, political, social and cultural conditions.

(4) To co-operate with various international organizations, more especially with the United Nations and their specialized agencies in considering to what extent sociology can be of assistance in the attainment of their ends. ISA wishes to collaborate with UNESCO and the United Nations by enlisting the talents and resources of sociological workers throughout the world with a view to finding a solution to the problems dealt with by those organizations, to which sociology is in a position to contribute. The Council hopes that, as ISA develops, the United Nations will make more frequent use of

the Association as regards proposed inquiries in those fields where its collaboration appears most necessary. The members and the Executive Committee of ISA have been requested to work out the methods of such co-operation.

The statutes of the International Sociological Association as adopted are as follows:

INTERNATIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION STATUTES

Preamble

The undersigned sociologists from various countries, having met in Oslo from 5 to 11 September 1949, under the auspices of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, being convinced of the desirability and necessity of improving relations between sociologists of various countries, hereby establish the International Sociological Association.

Article I. Nature of Organization

The International Sociological Association is an organization for purely scientific purposes.

Article II. Purposes

The object of the Association is to advance sociological knowledge throughout the world. To this end the Association shall undertake measures of international collaboration designed to assist the advancement of sociological study, teaching and research, and in particular:

- (a) To secure and to develop personal contacts between sociologists throughout the world.
- (b) To encourage the international dissemination and exchange of information on significant developments in sociological knowledge.
- (c) To facilitate and promote international sociological research.

Article III. Membership

(1) Membership in the Association, in principle, shall consist only of sociological organizations.

(2) In countries or regions, however, where no organizations which are affiliated with the International Sociological Association exist, membership shall be open to qualified individuals until a national or regional organization whose membership is open to such individuals is formed.

(3) Qualified sociologists, sociological institutes and institutions, whether members of national or regional societies or not, are also eligible for individual membership in special circumstances.

The Executive Committee, or the Membership Committee designated by it, shall have power to set up qualifications for the several types of memberships and pass on all applications for membership.

Article IV. Governing Body

The supreme governing body of the Association shall be the Council. In the interim between meet-

ings of the Council, the powers of the Council, with the exception of the power of amending the constitution, shall be vested in the Executive Committee.

Article V. The Council

Every country whose sociological organizations are affiliated with the International Sociological Association shall have in the Council not less than one member and one vote, and not more than two members and two votes.

Whether a country shall have two members in the Council shall be determined from time to time by a two-thirds vote of the Council, taking into account the importance of sociology in each country.

The Council shall consist of one or two members from each country to be designated by the affiliated sociological organization or the organization representative of the affiliated members in that country. In case of disagreement within a country on the designation of members to the Council, or in case no affiliated sociological organization exists, the Council shall have power to decide on the representation of the country in question.

One or more alternate members may be designated from each country. These alternate members shall have the privilege of participating in the deliberations of the Council, but shall have no votes unless representing an absent Council member.

The members of the Council shall hold office for a term of three years or until their successors are chosen.

The Council shall elect the President of the Association and one or more Vice-Presidents and the members of the Executive Committee.

All decisions of the Council shall be reached by majority vote of those present, except as specified in Article XI, which require a two-thirds vote of those present.

The Council shall meet at least once every three years. Special meetings may be called by the Executive Committee or upon the written request of one-third of the members of the Council.

One-third of the total membership of the Council shall constitute a quorum. In the absence of Council meetings mail votes shall have the same effect as votes taken at Council meetings.

Article VI. The Executive Committee

The Executive Committee shall consist of not less than seven and not more than eleven members, including the President and the Vice-Presidents of the Association. It shall be elected by the Council from among the Council's own members.

In case of vacancies on the Executive Committee, the Executive Committee shall have the power to fill vacancies from the Council membership.

The Executive Committee shall meet at least once every three years. Special meetings may be called by the President or upon the written request of one third of its members. The term of office

of members of the Executive Committee shall be six years, except that one half of the original Executive Committee members shall have terms of three years. All other rules of procedure of the Council shall also apply to the Executive Committee.

Article VII. The Executive Secretary

The Executive Secretary shall be elected by the Executive Committee for a term of three years. He need not be a member of the Council.

He shall be in charge of the administrative affairs of the Association and will receive instructions from the Executive Committee through the President and will be responsible to the Executive Committee.

He shall make full reports on the state of the organization, its membership, finances, programme, activities and accomplishments at least twice a year.

The stipend and allowances of the Executive Secretary shall be fixed by the Executive Committee.

The office of Treasurer may be combined with that of Executive Secretary in the same person.

Article VIII. President and Vice-Presidents

The term of office of the President and Vice-Presidents shall be three years. The President shall not be eligible for re-election to the office of President.

The President shall preside at all of the meetings of the Council and Executive Committee. In his absence a Vice-President shall preside.

Article IX. Headquarters of the Organization

The Headquarters of the Organization shall be determined by the Executive Committee at the time of the election of the Executive Secretary.

Article X. Dues

The dues of member organizations and individual members shall be fixed by vote of the Council.

Article XI. Amendments

Amendments to the constitution shall only be voted on at meetings of the Council at which at least one half of the total Council membership is present and shall require a two-thirds vote of those present and shall not come into effect until ratified by a two-thirds mail vote of the total membership of the Council unless the vote for the amendment at the Council meeting constituted a two-thirds vote of the total membership of the Council.

All proposed amendments shall be submitted to members of the Council in writing at least sixty days before the date of the meeting at which a vote on them is to be taken.

REPORT OF REPRESENTATIVES TO THE SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL

The present representatives of the American Sociological Society to the Social Science Re-

search Council are (in the order of expiration of their terms) E. W. Burgess, Kimball Young and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr. There are three other sociologists who are members of the Council: Philip M. Hauser, representing the American Statistical Association and Malcolm Willey and Donald Young who are serving as directors-at-large. At the fall meeting of the Board of Directors of the Council held at Sky-Top Lodge, Pennsylvania, Mr. Cottrell was appointed chairman of the Committee on Problems and Policy, which between meetings of the Board has charge of the affairs of the Council. The president of the Council is Pendelton Herring; the vice-president, Paul W. Webbink.

The outstanding publication under Council auspices during the past year was *Studies in Social Psychology in World War II, The American Soldier*. Three volumes have already appeared under the titles *Adjustment During Army Life, Combat and Its Aftermath, and Experiments on Mass Communication*. Several sociologists are listed among the authors of the first two volumes, including Samuel A. Stouffer, director of the Research Branch, Information and Education Division of the War Department, which studied the attitudes of more than half a million soldiers in the United States and overseas, L. S. Cottrell, Jr., L. C. DeVinney, Marion H. Lumsdaine, Shirley A. Star, E. A. Suchman, and R. M. Williams, Jr. The final volume *Measurement and Prediction* is devoted to methodology and presents the new developments in the theories and techniques of socio-psychological measurement and in predicting future behavior. As a demonstration in social engineering the Research Branch had notable successes, e.g., in obtaining data to deal with race problems in the army and with relation of officers and enlisted men, and in devising the point system in controlling demobilization. In addition these volumes present a great fund of data available to social sciences for the analysis and understanding of the behavior of men transplanted from civilian to army life.

A second significant publication was the Council bulletin on *The Pre-election Polls of 1948*, under the auspices of a Committee with the following sociologists as members: F. F. Stephan, P. M. Hauser, and S. A. Stouffer. In addition to ascertaining the reasons for the failure of polls to predict the outcome of the last presidential election, this volume attempts to suggest further research which would aid in improving the accuracy of future polls and other types of opinions and attitude surveys.

The central activity of the Council is planning significant future research, especially in areas where interdisciplinary cooperation is indicated. One such area of especial interest to sociologists is the field of marriage and the family. Though a grant from the Grant Foundation, a research planning report is now in preparation by L. S. Cottrell, Jr. In preliminary memoranda requested by him the following fields were represented: cultural anthropology, family life education, marriage and family counseling, home economics, law, psychology, social psychology and sociology. Sociologists preparing statements on different aspects of needed research included the following sociologists: E. W. Burgess, Nelson N. Foote, Emily H. Mudd, Albert J. Reiss, and G. E. Swanson.

Other interdisciplinary committees functioning during the past year on which sociologists were represented may be of interest: housing research on which Louis Wirth was formerly a member and Gerald Breese, staff, and on which N. J. Demerath and R. K. Merton now are members; labor market research, Philip M. Hauser; Pacific Coast Community studies, Leonard Bloom, chairman, Calvin F. Schmid, and Paul Wallin; Pacific Coast social statistics, C. F. Schmid; Pacific Coast old age, Elon Moore; public library inquiry, Malcolm M. Willey; organization for research, Louis Wirth, chairman, G. W. Blackwell, and M. M. Willey. Southern Asia, Kingsley Davis.

Two projects begun during the year which are of special interest to sociologists may be briefly mentioned. The first of these is a Committee (Donald Young, chairman, Herbert Blumer, Thorsten Sellin, and Dorothy S. Thomas) on W. I. Thomas' Contribution to Social Science. The Committee plans to review and integrate Thomas' major contributions to sociological theory and method and to make available a selection of his out-of-print and some of his unpublished materials. The expectation is that the resulting volume will make readily accessible his contributions to social behavior and personality including also a complete bibliography of his writings and a brief statement of his role in the development of social psychology.

The second project was a series of three seminars on the possibilities of research on values and the relation of values to social science research held under the auspices of the Council at Chicago, Cornell and Harvard in which the representatives of the different disciplines participated. Reports of these seminars given at the fall meeting of the Council indicated that

the sessions at the three centers were stimulating, but no clear cut proposals for research emerged.

A most important and continuing interest of the Council is training for research. This has been over the years in charge of the Committee on Social Science Personnel through which the Council awards both postdoctoral and predoctoral fellowships. In the past three years the Council's program in this area has been not merely to enable a limited number of superior individuals to secure advance training but to exert influence in favor of more adequate training for scientific research. To attain this end the program is increasingly flexible in the light of the candidate's previous preparation and of his long-run research goals. At present the chairman of the Committee is E. P. Hutchinson and the secretary Elbridge Sibley.

Only recently the Markle Foundation has made a grant to the Council to provide for two or three Inter-University Seminars each year for the next three years. The description of the typical seminar is as follows: Able research men from different universities and colleges and from different specialties will be brought together to work on projects of common interest for a period of two months each summer. These teams will vary in size and might hypothetically be concerned with such problems as social adjustment in old age, community studies, population trends, labor productivity and others. Seminars will be held at Universities which have suitable working conditions during the summer and adequate library facilities and equipment. The members of the seminar will be selected from the younger age group who now hold teaching or research position, and they may receive stipends in lieu of summer session salaries. Social scientists have no Woods Hole like the biologists as a summer center for research. This experiment undertaken by the Council in bringing specialists together during the summer to concentrate upon a specific problem should not only serve to break down departmental lines between departments and institutions but if successful to establish a pattern to be increasingly followed.

These are only a sample of the work of the Council. Those who wish to keep up with the activities of the Council should write for the quarterly bulletin *Items*, which is to be found in most university libraries and may be obtained without charge by writing to the Social Science Research Council, 230 Park Avenue, New York 17, N.Y.

REPORT OF THE REPRESENTATIVE TO THE AMERICAN PRISON CONGRESS

The Seventy-ninth Annual Congress of Corrections, sponsored by the American Prison Association, was held at the Hotel Schroeder in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, September 25-30, 1949. The Congress included meetings of the American Prison Association, the National Probation and Parole Association, the National Jail Association, the National Chaplains' Association, the National Conference of Juvenile Agencies, the Correctional Education Association, the Correctional Service Associates, the Medical Correctional Association, the Wardens' Association, the National Prisoners' Aid Association, the Penal Industries Association, and the Association of Administrators of the Interstate Compact for the Supervision of Parolees and Probationers. There were also meetings sponsored by the Committee on Classification and Case Work, the Committee on Professional Standards and Training, the Committee on Women's Institutions, the Committee on Institution Libraries, and the Committee on Crime Prevention. There were approximately 800 registered at the meetings, and these represented 40 states and the District of Columbia, as well as several foreign countries. A goodly number of academic sociologists who are members of the American Sociological Society were present.

Papers were read by Dr. Austin Porterfield, Professor of Sociology at Texas Christian University; Dr. Paul W. Tappan, Professor of Sociology at New York University; and Dr. Joseph D. Lohman, of the University of Chicago. Dr. Robert G. Caldwell, professor of Criminology at the State University of Iowa, presided at a session devoted to consideration of Racial Tensions as a Factor in Law Enforcement and to The Work of Crime Prevention Units in Philadelphia. Dr. Walter C. Reckless, of the School of Social Administration, Ohio State University, was one of three discussants at the meeting on guided group interaction and parole preparation, and he served also as Chairman of the Committee on Research and Planning. Dr. J. P. Shaloo of the University of Pennsylvania was Chairman of the Committee on Crime Prevention.

An encouraging level of professionalization in the field of corrections is suggested by the quality of the papers presented in several sections. In spite of the fact that a majority of those engaged in correctional work are not attendants at the Annual Congress, and although there are areas of great backwardness in the United States,

one is inclined to agree with the remark of a long-time observer, Austin MacCormick, that except at the top and the bottom of the correctional field, movement towards professionalization of staff has made considerable headway in recent years. Evidence of concern with this problem is the fact that the general session which concluded the Congress was devoted to the topic, "Can the Prison System be Professionalized?" Indicating a similar emphasis, a forthright panel discussion of "Areas of Agreement and Disagreement Between Wardens and Psychiatrists" was one of the highlights.

Among the papers presented that might be of special interest to the members of the American Sociological Society were the following: "Delinquency and the Cultural Pattern" by Austin Porterfield; "Action of the United Nations in the Prevention of Crime and Treatment of Offenders" by Adolphe Delierneaux; "Report on Group Therapy at the National Training School for Boys" by James Thorpe; "The Benefit of Group Therapy in Handling Behavior Problems" by Alma Holzschuh; "Racial Tensions As a Factor in Law Enforcement" by Joseph D. Lohman; "Psychological Preparation of Prison Inmates for Release to Society" by Norman Fenton; and "Reintegration of the Offender in the Community" by C. Boyd McDevitt.

It seems clear that the field of corrections offers opportunities for training and research as yet inadequately used by sociologists. Under proper conditions it appears that the correctional institutions of the country and the probation and parole services would welcome the placement of suitable students for internships. The utilization of such opportunities might also contribute to the development of text books and training materials less deserving the criticism of administrators of correctional agencies, who seem to feel that sociologists are given to emphasizing historical data to the neglect of the best probation, parole, and institutional practices.

Following a recommendation of the Committee on Resolutions, the Congress expressed its concern over the discontinuance of the compilation of crime statistics by the U. S. Bureau of the Census. Since this is a matter that concerns all sociologists, but especially those interested in research in criminology, it would seem appropriate for this Society to consider whether it might take any action looking towards the continuance and improvement of statistical records in this field.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY

The state of the membership is, broadly conceived, the major business of the Society's Secretary. So far as numbers are concerned, there was some increase over last year. (See accompanying Table). This is not a very satisfactory showing, in part because of an experiment in Membership Committee structure which was not adequately implemented, in part because major attention was focused on the development of the Society, the search for a formula for the reintegration into the Society of fragmented groups now quite distinct, and the formulation of an organized and continuing approach to sociologists and persons interested in sociology preparatory to a systematic membership campaign during 1950 when the organizational structure and office facilities would be more adequate.

There are problems other than numbers about our membership, though. The major one is that we know nothing about who our members are, considered as a collectivity. The majority of the present members were blanketed in as Active members when the classification system was initiated. Persons joining after that time submitted minimum information on positions and training, but there was no systematic file of these original cards. As a consequence the Society knows only the names of its members, the mailing address to which they wish the *Review* sent, and whether they are Active, Associate, or Student.

The present ex-Secretary served in an emergency period for some months in the middle of the year, her responsibility that of assessing the needs of the Society and working with the Reorganization Committee to develop plans which should be at once constructive and feasible. The assessment has been utilized in the drafting of the proposed amendments to the Constitution and the By-Laws which are in your hands, in the reorganized office as it now exists, and in many other specific recommendations passed on through the Reorganization or Administration Committees to the Executive Committee and the Reorganization Committee of 1950. These need not be repeated here. I should like to emphasize, instead, the often neglected fact that the preeminent need of the American Sociological Society is the heightened loyalty and the more representative and responsible participation of its members. With this participation, formal structure is secondary; without it, grandiose central organizations can end only in futility.

Finally, I should like to express to all of you,

and to those members not here, my appreciation for your cooperation during a most difficult period of transition. That same friendly cooperation extended to the new administration will do much to insure successful movement toward a more comprehensive level of functioning on the part of the Society.

IRENE B. TAEUBER

Secretary, February to October, 1949

REPORT OF THE MANAGING EDITOR

The income from the *Review* was increased during 1949 by expanding membership, higher subscription rates, and a larger volume of advertising. Expenditures rose also, for printing costs were increased again in the contract of December, 1948.

The total circulation of the *Review* as of November 30, 1949 was 4,025, as contrasted to 3,800 one year earlier. Although the number of non-member subscribers changed little during the year, the increase in the subscription rate to \$4.50 raised gross income from this source from \$4,101 in 1948 to \$5,143 in 1949. Advertising income increased from \$2,888 in 1948 to \$3,358 in 1949.

The responsibilities of the Managing Editor are those of business management rather than sociological or editorial activities. The Managing Editor handles the routine of subscriptions and advertising, and presumably engages in promotional activities with reference to both. It is recommended that the Executive Committee review the allocation of these business chores as an appendix to the positions of Secretary and Treasurer. The combination of the three offices is traditional rather than obligatory, for the Constitution of the Society establishes the three separately.

Further procedural recommendations follow from the experience of the intermediate months of 1949. These have been developed in cooperation with the Editor and the relevant Committees, but are presented here as a basis for wider discussion rather than immediate action:

1. The Society has become greatly concerned over the clerical load on the office of the Secretary-Treasurer and Managing Editor as now constituted and has taken successive steps to provide more adequate assistance and a more workable organizational structure. The Editor of the *Review* has continued to operate with a clerical budget of \$60.00 per month. The provision of really adequate technical and professional staff is not possible with the present income structure of the Society, but a greatly

increased budget for general editorial assistance must be provided.

2. The Editor of the *Review* should participate fully in the formation of the Society's budget, and be given responsibility for allocating the *Review's* funds and hence page allowances on an annual basis. The casual issue to issue directions as to size of the *Review* make editorial planning both difficult and frustrating.

3. The Reorganization Committee of 1950 should consider the feasibility of securing cheaper forms of publication than the *Review* for those blocks of material now included in it which are not of great permanent value.

urers. This Treasurer's statement is simply a summation of the amounts received and disbursed during a specific time period, within the limits of accuracy to which the records were kept.

Several factors combined to produce a substantial operating deficit for fiscal 1949. The first is an expenditure on the December and February *Reviews* so far beyond budget allocations that even cutting to 128 page issues could not recoup the budgetary position. (Both the Administration Committee and the Committee on Budget authorized this reduction but did not wish to omit issues.) The second is a capital

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY MEMBERSHIP TRENDS

Year	Total	Regular Members				Student
		Total	Active	Associate	Special Categories	
1935	1,169	1,045	1,009	00	36	119
1936	1,002	867	814	00	53	135
1937	1,006	907	856	00	51	99
1938	1,025	919	868	00	51	106
1939	999	904	850	00	54	95
1940	1,034	916	865	00	51	118
1941	1,039	914	868	00	46	125
1942	1,055	941	893	00	48	114
1943	1,082	948	864	00	84	134
1944	1,242	1,049	903	00	147	192
1945	1,309	1,166	959	00	207	143
1946	1,651	1,351	1,264	00	87	300
1947	2,057	1,490	1,436	111	54	456
1948	2,450	1,662	1,324	267	71	788
1949	2,673	1,732	1,352	308	72	941

Broad questions of expanded publication facilities are important, and these will be considered. But the fundamental publication is and will remain the *American Sociological Review*. Continuity in editorship is a precondition to qualitative improvement—and that continuity cannot be procured unless the Society frankly faces the fiscal and procedural difficulties of the position as it is now constituted.

IRENE B. TAEUBER

Managing Editor, February to October, 1949

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

As interim Treasurer, I submit the Society's financial statement for the period December 1, 1948-November 30, 1949, as prepared in the Executive Office at the end of the year to cover the period of tenure of the year's three treas-

urers. This Treasurer's statement is simply a summation of the amounts received and disbursed during a specific time period, within the limits of accuracy to which the records were kept.

Several factors combined to produce a substantial operating deficit for fiscal 1949. The first is an expenditure on the December and February *Reviews* so far beyond budget allocations that even cutting to 128 page issues could not recoup the budgetary position. (Both the Administration Committee and the Committee on Budget authorized this reduction but did not wish to omit issues.) The second is a capital

expenditure for furniture and equipment, for last year's Executive Committee authorized movement to empty floor space at the side of a room, with neither shelving, storage space, nor general office equipment available. The Reorganization Committee authorized the necessary expenditure initially, but reimbursement was voted by the Committee on Budget. The third was a directed expenditure of \$1,000 for additional clerical assistance for the Secretary's office in a highly inefficient form. The fourth was the budgeted deficit of \$3,000 for the Reorganization Committee of 1949. However, this committee returned almost \$1,000 to the general funds of the Society.

The American Sociological Society, as any learned association, must operate at maximum economy if it is to publish a journal and oper-

TABLE A
FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1949

			Net	
	Receipts	Disbursements	Receipts	Disbursements
<i>Membership Dues</i>				
Active & Associate	\$ 9,581.00	\$ 83.00	\$ 9,498.00	
Joint	337.00		337.00	
Student	2,630.00		2,630.00	
Donor	60.00		60.00	
Life	100.00		100.00	
			<u>\$12,625.00</u>	
<i>Review</i>				
Subscriptions (non-members)	5,189.00	46.00	5,143.00	
Sales: of <i>Review</i>	322.00	21.00	301.00	
of papers and proceedings	20.00		20.00	
Advertising income ¹	3,358.00		3,358.00	
Printing & Mailing		14,252.00		\$14,252.00
Clerical salaries		720.00		720.00
Misc. expenses		122.00		122.00
				<u>6,272.00</u>
<i>Office Expense</i>				
Clerical salaries		3,757.00		3,757.00
Postage, Tel. & Tel.		316.00		316.00
Printing & stationery		1,065.00		1,065.00
Misc. expenses		200.00		200.00
				<u>5,338.00</u>
<i>Committees</i>				
Research		273.00		273.00
Nominating		188.00		188.00
Program		70.00		70.00
				<u>531.00</u>
<i>Annual Meetings</i>				
Meeting expense—1948	50.00	316.00		266.00
Program expense—1948		375.00		375.00
1949 (Preliminary program)	74.00	392.00		318.00
Book exhibit, 1948	499.00		499.00	
				<u>460.00</u>
<i>Financial & Misc.</i>				
Interest & Dividend Income	336.00		336.00	
Uncollectible checks		63.00		63.00
Fidelity position bond		89.00		89.00
Audit fee		150.00		150.00
			<u>34.00</u>	
Total receipts and disbursements				
before items below	<u>\$22,556.00</u>	<u>\$22,498.00</u>	<u>\$ 58.00</u>	
Office furniture & fixtures		840.00		840.00
Cost of moving office to New York		334.00		334.00
Reorganization Committee expense ²		2,008.00		2,008.00
		<u>3,182.00</u>		<u>3,182.00</u>
Grand Total	<u>\$22,556.00</u>	<u>\$25,680.00</u>		<u>\$3,124.00</u>

¹ After adjusting for advertising income billed but not received as of November 30, 1949.

² Including two meetings of the Administration Committee and cost of moving the office to Maryland (\$214.00).

Note: This statement excludes:

Bond investment redemption—moneys held for reinvestment\$ 600.00
Grant from the Carnegie Corporation 10,000.00

ate its general services at even a minimum level, given today's dues structures, costs of publication, and salary levels. Over the years the expenditures of one year have balanced the receipts of the previous year, thus permitting the gradual building up of a contingency fund in the period of expansion that has followed the insolvency of the mid-'thirties. Careful analysis of available financial records and general fiscal procedures, carried out in cooperation with the Committee on Budget, leads to the following recommendations:

1. A financial balance sheet of assets and liabilities should be maintained. The current income and out-go statement permits neither precise evaluation of trends in net assets nor functional expenditure analysis.

2. The budget should be prepared cooperatively by the officers, particularly the Treasurer and the Editor, submitted to the Committee on Budget, and modified well in advance of the new fiscal year. It should then be submitted to the Executive Committee by the committee on budget. These provisions are included in the present Constitution and By-laws. It is further recommended most strongly that quarterly or semi-annual reports be made to the Committee on Budget. If substantial revision of the budget proves imperative, it should be submitted to the Executive Committee.

3. The budget should be developed in functional categories rather than in the present combination of functional categories plus types of goods or services purchased, i.e., stamps or telephone.

4. A separate budgetary account should be maintained for the *American Sociological Review*, the proportionate allocation of dues to the *Review* being determined by the Executive Committee after responsible deliberations on the basis of an analysis of the fiscal history of the Society's expenditures and in the light of the practices of other learned societies.

5. Estimation of the cost to the Society of securing subscriptions to other sociological journals should be secured. This is not a recommendation for abolition, but for the determination of the substantial clerical costs involved as a basis for policy decisions.

The receipt of a grant from the Carnegie Corporation for developmental purposes lends urgency to these recommendations for improved budgetary procedures and tightened fiscal controls.

IRENE B. TAEUBER

Treasurer, February to October, 1949

AUDIT REPORT
FOR THE YEAR ENDED
NOVEMBER 30, 1949

December 23, 1949

Executive Committee
The American Sociological Society
427 West 117th Street
New York, New York

Gentlemen:

In accordance with instructions, we have examined the financial records of The American Sociological Society for the fiscal year ended November 30, 1949. We submit herewith the following exhibits:

Statement of Cash Receipts and Disbursements
—for the fiscal year ended November 30, 1949
Exhibit 1

Inventory of Securities Examined—at November 30, 1949
Exhibit 2

The accounting system of the Society is limited to a cash receipts and disbursements basis, only cash journals being used to record financial transactions. Verifications in connection with the Society's assets (other than cash and security investments), liabilities and capital have been omitted. The only cash receipts confirmed by reference to other sources were bond interest, dividends on stocks and security redemption proceeds. We made no tests to ascertain that all membership dues, *Review* subscriptions and sales, *Review* advertising and other types of receipts were entered in the cash receipts journal, although all receipts recorded therein were properly deposited in the banks. No steps were taken to ascertain that cash disbursements for expenses were within approved budget appropriations or that cash disbursements for other purposes were authorized. In addition, we did not trace the receipts from members for subscriptions to other journals to the disbursements made to the affiliated Societies therefor.

In making our examination, the December, 1948 Bank statement, together with cancelled checks, of the State Bank and Trust Company, Evanston, Illinois, and the October, 1949 Bank statement, together with cancelled checks, of the Citizens Bank of Riverdale, Riverdale, Maryland, were not made available to us.

In our opinion, subject to the comments contained in the preceding paragraphs, the Statement of Cash Receipts and Disbursements (Exhibit 1) presents fairly the cash transactions

of The American Sociological Society for the fiscal year ended November 30, 1949. The balance of Cash in Banks as at November 30, 1949, totaling \$30,508.49 as shown in Exhibit 1, was confirmed directly to us by the depositors. We made a physical count on November 30, 1949 of the stocks and bonds listed in the Inventory of Securities Examined (Exhibit 2);

the values shown for each security being obtained from the Auditors' report for the fiscal year ended November 30, 1948.

We wish to express our appreciation of the courtesies extended to us by the Executive Officer during the course of our work.

Respectfully submitted,
KING AND COMPANY

Exhibit 1

STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FOR THE
FISCAL YEAR ENDED NOVEMBER 30, 1949

	Cash Receipts	Cash Disbursements	Net	
			Receipts	Disbursements
Income and Expense Items:				
Membership Dues:				
Active and associate	\$ 9,581.19	\$ 83.00		
Joint	337.00			
Student	2,629.75			
Donor	60.00			
Life	100.00			
	<u>\$12,707.94</u>	<u>\$ 83.00</u>	\$12,624.94	
Review Publication				
Subscriptions	\$ 5,188.51	\$ 45.80		
Sales of Review	321.90	21.00		
Sales of papers and proceedings	19.79			
Advertising income	2,959.34			
Printing and mailing costs ...		14,251.79		
Clerical salaries		720.00		
Miscellaneous		122.28		
	<u>\$ 8,489.54</u>	<u>\$15,160.87</u>		\$ 6,671.33
Office:				
Clerical salaries		\$ 3,757.14		
Postage, telephone and telegraph		316.24		
Printing and stationery88	1,065.57		
Miscellaneous		199.75		
	<u>\$.88</u>	<u>\$ 5,338.70</u>		\$ 5,337.82
Committees:				
Administrative		\$ 160.70		
Census Research		272.45		
Nominating		188.12		
Program		70.45		
		<u>\$ 691.72</u>		691.72
Annual Meeting:				
Programs		\$ 766.71		
Book exhibit	\$ 490.43			
Miscellaneous	50.00	315.48		
	<u>\$ 549.43</u>	<u>\$ 1,082.19</u>		\$ 532.76

Financial:

Interest on bonds	\$ 60.00		
Dividends on stocks	276.32		
Fidelity position bond		\$ 88.87	
Audit fee		150.00	
Uncollectible checks		63.30	
Miscellaneous	18.67	16.59	
	<u>\$ 354.99</u>	<u>\$ 318.76</u>	<u>\$ 36.23</u>

Other Items:

Grant received	\$10,000.00		
Bond redemption proceeds	600.00		
Annual meeting dinner receipts	65.80		
Subscriptions to other journals			
for members	2,684.30	\$ 2,742.97	
Reorganization Committee dis-			
bursements		1,794.64	
Office equipment purchased ..		840.01	
Costs of moving office to New			
York City		334.33	
Bank transfers	26,388.72	26,388.72	
	<u>\$39,738.82</u>	<u>\$32,100.67</u>	<u>\$ 7,638.15</u>
Total for fiscal year ended No-			
vember 30, 1949	\$61,841.60	\$54,775.91	\$ 7,065.69

Cash in Banks:

Balance, November 30, 1948,			
per Auditors' report	13,005.78		13,005.78
Balance, November			
30, 1949	\$30,508.49		
Less:			
Outstanding checks			
\$10,418.91			
Tax Withholdings			
18.11 10,437.02		20,071.47	
	<u>\$74,847.38</u>	<u>\$74,847.38</u>	<u>\$20,071.47</u>

Exhibit 2

INVENTORY OF SECURITIES EXAMINED AT NOVEMBER 30, 1949

Description	Type	Date Acquired	Face amount or number, of shares	Value reported in 11-30-48 Report	Interest or Dividends Received
Bonds:					
United States Savings Bonds	Series F, due 6-1-57	June 1945	\$2,000.00	\$1,480.00	
Hyde Park Baptist Church	4%, due 5-1-53	(A)			60.00
Stocks:					
American Telephone and Telegraph Company	capital	May 1932	3	296.00	27.00
Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Company	common	July 1945	10	526.58	30.00

Consolidated Natural Gas Company of Delaware	capital	Dec. 1943	1		2.00
Standard Oil Company of New Jersey	capital	Feb. 1940	12	533.56	51.82
Union Pacific Railroad Company	common	1945 & 1948	20	1,313.75	120.00
United States Steel Corporation	7% cum. pfd.	1938 & 1939	5	532.41	35.00
West Penn Electric Company	7% cum. pfd.	May 1938 (B)	2	185.18	10.50
Totals				<u>\$4,867.48</u>	<u>\$336.32</u>

Notes: (A) \$600.00 face amount redeemed May 1949 for \$600.00, which were purchased for \$600.00, resulting in no gain or loss.

(B) Redeemable November 15, 1949 for \$230.00 plus \$3.50 accrued dividend. Stock not sent in for redemption until December 1949.

ANNOUNCEMENT CONCERNING THE PROGRAM OF THE 1950 MEETING

The annual meeting of the Society will be held in Denver, Colorado, September 7-9, 1950. The program will be planned with an emphasis on the applications of social-psychological theory and method to a variety of substantive fields in sociology. This means that a considerable number of our traditional sections will be recognized in the program and the chairmen asked to assemble papers with the emphasis indicated.

Sections to be included in the program are: Theory, Methods, The Family, Criminology, Population, Rural Sociology, Industrial Sociology, Community, Sociology and Psychiatry, Race and Culture, Educational Sociology, Communication and Public Opinion, Sociology and Social Work, and two section meetings of contributed papers.

Chairmen of the various sections will be

announced as soon as they can be selected.

Members who have papers they would like to submit for consideration should send them to Dr. Robert E. L. Faris, Department of Sociology, University of Washington, Seattle 6, Washington, who will have charge of the section meetings on contributed papers. Dr. Faris will bring to the attention of the appropriate section chairmen any contributed papers he feels may be relevant for their section meetings. All contributed papers should be in his hands not later than June 1, if they are to receive proper attention.

The Program Committee in general charge of planning the program consists of Maurice R. Davie, Clyde W. Hart, Robert K. Merton, John W. Riley, Jr., Paul Wallin, and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., Chairman.

LEONARD S. COTTRELL, JR.,
President

NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS



Hebrew University. Pursuant to the establishment of an Institute of Labour and the Cooperative Movement, the Hebrew University in Jerusalem announces three vacancies for the following senior posts (lecturer or professor) within the new Institute:

- (1) Labour economics, industrial relations and related subjects.
- (2) The history and ideology of labour movements, in general, and the Jewish labour movement, in particular.
- (3) The history, ideology and problems of the co-operative movement with special reference to the significance of this movement in Israel.

Each of the posts requires teaching as well as research, the teaching to be carried out eventually in Hebrew. Remuneration is in accordance with the salary and pension schedule of the Hebrew University.

Applications must be in writing and should give full details on age, training and qualifications, former and present positions, publications and general experience. The names and addresses of three references should also be given. Applications should be received not later than March 1, 1950, by the Academic Secretary, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, Israel.

Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales of the National University of Mexico is publishing a series of little books under the general title, *Cuadernos de Sociología*. The numbers which have appeared so far are these: *Los Partidos Políticos*, *Las Clases Sociales*, *Valor Sociológico de Folklore*; all of the preceding by Lucio Mendieta y Núñez, Director of the Institute; *Sociología de la Universidad* by Roberto Agramonte, *El Mundo Histórico y Social* by Juan Roura Parella, *Problemas de la Universidad* by Lucio Mendieta y Núñez and Jose Gómez Robledo, and *Introducción a la Psiquiatría Social* by Roger Bastide.

These compact little volumes give to North American sociologists an intimate glimpse of the thinking, teaching and research of their colleagues in Mexico.

The first two are descriptive interpretations by a participant observer who knows Mexican life as lawyer, public official, and researcher. The fourth and sixth reveal significant similarities and differences between the universities of Latin and North America. The fifth displays the profound influence of the German philosopher, Dilthey, on Latin American scholars. The seventh is a translation.

UNESCO. Professor Arthur Ramos of the University of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, chief of the social sciences division of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, died of a heart attack in Paris on October 31, 1949.

Carnegie Corporation of New York. The following grants have recently been made:

\$260,000, payable over a two-year period, to the Social Science Research Council for area training fellowships and travel grants. The Corporation is continuing its support of the national area fellowship program set up by the Council in 1947. The program provides fellowships for individuals who have not yet received the doctoral degree and travel grants to specialists for research on problems which are clearly related to an understanding of the contemporary culture of the major foreign areas of the world.

\$50,000 to New York University toward support of an experiment in educational method in the Graduate Division of Public Service. The Division's program covers not only theory and practice of public administration but also includes a number of integrated curricula in fields offered in co-operation with the graduate departments of law, sociology, economics, and psychology. It is now planned to substitute an annual field project based on group investigation, analysis and report for the master's thesis. These projects will have for their focus the central theme of metropolitan government and economic life. This grant will provide fellowships and give support to the program during an experimental four-year period.

\$32,500, to Michigan State College for a study of problems involved in technical assistance to economically underdeveloped areas. Through its Social Research Service, the College is developing a program of research and training in agricultural extension methods in co-operation with the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences in Costa Rica. Under the present grant, Dr. Charles P. Loomis, Director of the Service, plans to extend both the research and training activities to other parts of Latin America.

Pi Lambda Theta, National Association for Women in Education, announces two awards of \$400 each, to be granted on or before August 15, 1950, for significant research studies on "Professional Problems of Women." All inquiries should be addressed to Alice H. Hayden, Chairman, Committee on Studies and Awards, University of Washington, Seattle 5, Washington.

Russell Sage Foundation and the Cornell Medical Center. A program of experimental studies to attempt to determine what the social sciences can contribute to broadening medical and nursing education and what the social sciences will receive in return, will begin in February at Cornell University Medical College and the Cornell University-New York Hospital School of Nursing, which are parts of The New York Hospital-Cornell Medical Center, 68th Street and the East River, in co-operation with the Russell Sage Foundation. Social anthropology is the special field of interest in this work, which is expected to continue for about two years.

Professor Leo W. Simmons will be director of the project. Professor Simmons is now Associate Professor in the Department of Sociology, Yale University, and has been granted a leave of absence for the period of his work at the Center. He will be Visiting Professor of Anthropology in Medicine at Cornell University Medical College and Visiting Professor of Anthropology in Nursing at the Cornell University-New York Hospital School of Nursing, beginning February 1, 1950.

Professor Simmons will work in the Medical College specifically within the Department of Medicine. His studies will be concentrated in the Psychosomatic Clinic of The New York Hospital where young physicians who have completed their residencies in medicine are being provided with an opportunity to gain further insight into the emotional components of disease.

In the School of Nursing he will explore and develop with the faculty the teaching areas for the preparation of the nurse who will be equipped to plan for community health programs as well as for the physical, social and emotional needs of her individual patients in the hospital.

In both Schools, Professor Simmons will work with the teaching staffs toward a broader concept of the effects of sociological and psychological factors upon sickness and health. He will concentrate in part on those forces within society that produce frustration, aggression, and insecurity and that manifest themselves frequently in sickness. Simultaneously, he will be concerned with family and community resources that tend to produce stability, a sense of security, normal health and development.

Within this pattern, attention will be given to the health implications of family situations, problems of unemployment and old age, attitudes of and about racial and nationality groups, lack of social security, need for adequate housing, education and recreational facilities.

Theatre of Psychodrama. During the 1949-50 season, from November 20, 1949 to May 21, 1950, twenty-seven productions will be presented, Sunday evenings at 8:40 P.M. at the Mansfield Theatre, 256 West 47th Street, New York City. Problems of world-wide significance will be dramatized with

the aid of audience participation as they bear dynamically upon each individual and every group. These productions are entirely spontaneous and unrehearsed, creations of the moment, resulting from the interaction between the stage and the audience. The undertaking is regarded as a first step enlisting the possibilities of mass therapy. For further information write to: Theatre of Psychodrama, 101 Park Avenue, New York 17, New York.

U. S. Public Health Service. Charles N. Elliott has been appointed social science research analyst to the staff of the Phoenix Mental Health Center, Phoenix, Arizona. The Phoenix Mental Health Center is one of the demonstration and research units established by the National Institute of Mental Health under the provisions of the National Mental Health Act of 1946.

Eastern Sociological Society. The 1950 annual meeting of the Eastern Sociological Society will be held on April 22 and 23 at Boston University. Members are urged to submit papers for the sessions on current sociological research projects by March 15 to the Chairman of the Committee on Research, Dr. Jessie Bernard, Department of Sociology, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pa. Communications relating to other sessions of the program are to be addressed to President M. F. Nimkoff, Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pa. The Secretary-Treasurer of the society is Dr. Bernhard J. Stern, Columbia University, New York.

Bates College. Russell Friend and George F. Taylor have been appointed Instructors in Sociology. Prof. Anders M. Myhrman, who has sabbatical leave, is serving as Visiting Lecturer at the Swedish University in Åbo, Finland during the first semester. He is giving a series of lectures on American Society of Today.

Brooklyn College. Dr. Herbert Hewitt Stroup has been promoted to Associate Professor, and Dr. Marion Cuthbert to Assistant Professor in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. These appointments are effective January 1, 1950.

Dr. Willoughby C. Waterman, department chairman, spoke on "Preprofessional Social Work Education in New York State Colleges" at the joint conference in Buffalo on November 19 of the New York State Conference on Preprofessional Social Work Education and the State Conference on Social Work.

As in the summers of 1947 and 1948, Dr. Feliks Gross made a field trip to the Wind River Reservation in the summer of 1949. He is studying there the value systems of the Shoshone and Arapaho Indians. He also served again as Director of the Institute of International Affairs, University of Wyoming. He participated in the 1949 Brookings Institution seminar on U.S. foreign policy at Lake Forest College.

Dr. Alfred McClung Lee, formerly department chairman at Wayne University, joined the staff in September 1949 as Professor of Sociology and Anthropology. He is offering courses in the graduate division. He was Professor at Wayne University in 1942-49.

Dr. John Vincent Murra of the University of Puerto Rico and Dr. Elizabeth Briant Lee, formerly of Wayne University, are serving as Lecturers in the department.

Dr. Marion Cuthbert is author of *Songs of Creation*, a book published in October 1949 by The Womans Press.

LeRoy E. Bowman is conducting an experimental course in "Field Experience in Social Agencies." This represents an effort to integrate for undergraduates classroom instruction with practical, volunteer experience under trained supervision. Bowman's pamphlet, "How to Lead Discussion," was translated into German in 1948 and is now about to appear in Danish. Bowman is Chairman of the Greenwich Village Community Audit (of racial and religious discriminatory practices).

Recent issues of *Revista Mexicana de Sociologia* have carried biographical sketches and portraits of Dr. Rex D. Hopper and Dr. Alfred McClung Lee. Hopper and Gross are representing the Department of Sociology and Anthropology in the development of an integrated social science course, "Our Contemporary World."

Dr. Herbert Hewitt Stroup is conducting a special 10-week course in "Social Work in Settlement Houses" under the joint sponsorship of Brooklyn College and the Brooklyn Neighborhood Houses Fund (the eight non-sectarian social settlements affiliated with United Neighborhood Houses of New York). The course includes classroom and workshop experience and regular periods of field work. Stroup will lead a workshop on "Preprofessional Education for Social Work" in January during the 31st annual meetings of the American Association of Schools of Social Work.

Dr. Robert W. Ehrlich has received a grant from the Viking Fund to aid in the preparation for publication of two monographs: (1) A Racial Analysis of Montenegro, and (2) Homolka: A Late Neolithic Fortified Village in Bohemia.

College of the City of New York. A report on living conditions in the "Manhattanville" area adjacent to the school's upper Manhattan campus was issued in November. It was prepared under the supervision of Dr. Warren Brown, Assistant Professor in the department of Sociology and Anthropology, in co-operation with Aaron Lipman, a research fellow in the department's Social Research Laboratory and a group of sociology and anthropology students. The report was drawn up at the request of the Riverside Civic Council which is affiliated with the Welfare Council of New York. Professor Burt W. Aginsky, chairman of the department, stated that the survey was under-

taken as part of a plan instituted by the department to integrate the classroom work of its students with real-life problems and to help in the solution of pressing community needs.

Fordham University. The Fordham School of Social Service in co-operation with the Police Academy, has instituted a series of in-service training lectures for a selected group of police officers, both men and women, who are assigned to the Juvenile Aid Bureau of the New York City Police Department.

Northwestern University. William L. Bailey, Professor Emeritus of Sociology, is a member of the department at the University of Maryland. He is on special duty, teaching classes of officers at the Pentagon and at Air Headquarters at Bolling Field, in his life-long field of special interest, the patterns of cities as viewed from the air, and on the problems of world organization for war and peace. He is scheduled to go to Germany in 1950 for lectures to the Army Air Schools in Berlin and Munich.

Kimball Young addressed the Illinois Psychological Association, Dec. 2, 1949, on "Content Analysis of the Treatment of the Marshall Plan in Certain Representative American Newspapers."

Paul Hatt is working on a population survey of Puerto Rico for the government of that island.

William F. Byron was an invited member of a Conference on Crime instituted by the University of Colorado, August 15-18, 1949, and presented a paper on "Social Causes of Crime." He also lectured on "Political Factors in Delinquency and Crime" in the School of Government at The Principia College in Illinois.

Robert F. Winch has published another paper based on his studies of college students' family and marriage behavior: "Courtship in College Women," *American Journal of Sociology*, November, 1949.

Princeton University. Official faculty approval has been received for a program of study leading to the Ph.D. degree in Sociology. This graduate program adds six new courses to the six already offered. The Ph.D. candidate thus has available the following 12 courses: two in Social Theory; Methods of Research; Social Statistics; 70 in Demography; Comparative Social Institutions; Social Systems; Special Problems in Cultural Anthropology; Criminology; Urban Sociology; and Industrial Sociology.

The existence of various research bureaus in the social sciences at the University makes it possible for the student to work out combined programs and also makes available a number of research fellowships specifically allocated to some of these bureaus. These include the Bureau of Urban Research; the Office of Population Research; the Office of Public Opinion Research; and the Industrial Relations Section. Additionally, the graduate

student seeking to combine a program of economics and sociology may work out such a plan within the Department of Economics and Social Institutions, offering a variety of courses from both fields.

The staff of the Sociology and Anthropology section of the Department includes the following: Professors Frederick F. Stephan and Frank W. Notestein; Associate Professor Wilbert E. Moore; Assistant Professors Edward C. Devereux, Marion J. Levy, Jr., Gerald W. Breese, Don J. Hager, and Melvin M. Tumin; Instructors Dennis Wrong and Duncan MacRae. Professor Stephan is also Director of the Study of Education at Princeton; Professor Notestein is Director of the Office of Population Research; and Professor Moore is a Research Associate of the same office.

On the undergraduate level of instruction, the student may now pursue a B.A. degree in Sociology and Anthropology within the combined Department; or, if he wishes, he may combine his sociology work with courses in economics, leading to a combined degree. Similarly, a student concentrating in economics may offer a variety of sociology courses for credit and for examination in his Senior Comprehensives, required of all undergraduates. Courses offered on the undergraduate level include Order and Change in Modern Society, Cultural Anthropology, Principles of Sociology, Urban Sociology, Social Disorganization, Criminology, Comparative Social Institutions, Population Problems and Sociological Theory. General undergraduate training in statistics is available in courses offered by the Mathematics Department.

Staff members have been active in professional affairs in addition to their regular teaching activities. Professor Don Hager directed a workshop in intercultural relations at the University of Denver last summer. Professors Moore and Tumin each offered two seminars in the Graduate School Department of Sociology of New York University last summer, and will give additional seminars under the same auspices this coming spring semester. Recent publications include Professor Levy's *Family Revolution in Modern China*; Professor Tumin's collaborative work with John W. Bennett, *Social Life: Structure and Function*, an introductory general sociology text; and Professor Breese's *Day-time Population of the Central Business District of Chicago*.

With the Department this year as Visiting Professor is Dr. Thorsten Sellin of the Department of Sociology, of the University of Pennsylvania, who is offering an undergraduate course in Criminology. The course is regularly taught by Professor Edward C. Devereux, currently on leave to the Bureau of Applied Social Research of Columbia University, where he is collaborating in an extensive project with Professor Robert K. Merton.

The Department has working relations with the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs and the American Civilization Program. Various staff members have directed confer-

ences of the former and participate jointly with members from other departments in the conference work of the latter. Students are permitted to take inter-disciplinary work which combines humanities and social science studies or allows for extension throughout a number of social sciences, such as politics, history, psychology and economics.

Applications for admission to the graduate program and/or for fellowships and scholarships should be addressed directly to the Dean of the Graduate School.

San Francisco State College. A Seminar in Europe is announced for the forthcoming summer. Under the direction of Dr. Alfred G. Fisk, Professor of Philosophy, the group will interview European leaders of government, labor, business, and other fields. Designed primarily for educators, speakers, and writers, the Seminar will study European reconstruction, progress of Marshall Plan Aid, political party alignments, and international tensions in ten countries of Europe, including Germany, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Spain. The Seminar is conducted on a non-profit co-operative basis. Inquiries should be directed to Dr. Alfred G. Fisk, San Francisco State College, San Francisco 2, California.

Stanford University. Dr. Ernest W. Burgess, chairman of the department of sociology at the University of Chicago, will join the Stanford faculty during the Winter Quarter as a visiting professor of sociology. He will conduct an advanced seminar in social pathology and will complete a book on marriage and the family, which he is writing in collaboration with Stanford sociologist Paul Wallin.

Syracuse University. Professor Earl H. Bell joined the staff of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology as Chairman in February of 1949. Professor Bell was formerly with the United States Department of Agriculture and with the United Nations Organization, Chief of Mission to Poland for the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund.

Through the courtesy of The Viking Fund, Professor and Mrs. Richard C. Thurnwald will spend one month during the fall term of 1949 as visiting lecturers on the staff of the Department. Professor Thurnwald, sometime Visiting Professor, Department of Anthropology, Yale University and at the Yale Law School, was Honorary Professor of *Ethnologie*, *Völkerpsychologie*, and *Soziologie* at the University of Berlin until the Russians took over the University. He is currently on leave of absence from the Free University of Berlin.

Nathaniel R. Kidder and Lloyd W. McCorkle joined the staff in September, 1949, as Assistant Professors. Professor Kidder, formerly at Harvard University, will teach Statistics and Demography. Professor McCorkle, formerly at The College of the

City of New York, and with the New Jersey State Department of Agencies and Institutions, will teach Criminology.

Ernest Goglia, Regina A. Hall, and John L. Lascaris have been appointed as Lecturers. In addition to teaching duties all three are practicing social workers in the city of Syracuse.

David L. Hatch has been promoted from Assistant Professor to Associate Professor. Howard B. Gundy has been promoted from Instructor to Assistant Professor.

Staff members of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology now include: Professors Earl H. Bell, Douglas G. Haring, William C. Lehmann, Richard C. Thurnwald, and (Mrs.) Hilde Thurnwald; Associate Professors Byron L. Fox and David L. Hatch; Assistant Professors Howard B. Gundy, Nathaniel R. Kidder, and Lloyd W. McCorkle; Instructor Joseph Bensman; Special Lecturers Clifford J. Craven, Regina A. Hall, Ernest Goglia, Kenneth Kindelsperger, and John L. Lascaris.

University of California at Los Angeles. Donald Cressey of Indiana University has joined the department as instructor in sociology. He will offer courses in the field of criminology and penology.

Ralph L. Beals has been elected President of the American Anthropological Association.

Robert K. Merton will join the department for the summer session of 1950.

A number of graduate assistantships carrying a stipend of \$1,200 will be available for the academic year 1950-51. Applicants should address their inquiries to Professor Harry Hoijer, chairman of the department.

University of Connecticut. Dr. Arthur L. Wood of Bucknell University has joined the staff of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology as Associate Professor of Sociology. Dr. Wood will offer courses in criminology and penology at both the undergraduate and graduate levels and will direct research in these fields.

Mr. Walter I. Wardwell has been appointed to the staff as instructor in sociology. Mr. Wardwell, who was trained at Harvard University, will develop work in the sociology of occupations and industrial sociology.

Mr. Charles Wisdom, Assistant Professor of Anthropology, is on leave for the current academic year and is doing advanced study at the University of Chicago. During Mr. Wisdom's absence, his courses are being taught by Mr. Robert R. Howard who is completing requirements for his Ph.D. degree in anthropology at Yale University.

Mr. Erwin Rubington is a part-time instructor in sociology during the current academic year. Mr. Sydney Croog is teaching courses in introductory sociology and introductory anthropology at the Hartford Branch of the University of Connecticut. Both Mr. Rubington and Mr. Croog have completed the residence requirements for their Ph.D.

degrees at Yale University and are currently working on their doctoral theses.

University of Kentucky. Dr. Irwin T. Sanders, Head of the Department of Sociology, has been given the Distinguished Professor award of the Faculty of the College of Arts and Sciences for the year 1949-50. This honor carries with it a leave of absence to conduct research in a field of his choice.

Dr. C. Arnold Anderson returns to active work in the Department after a year's leave of absence at the University of California in Berkeley where he taught a course in Human Resources.

Dr. James W. Gladden, formerly Head of the Department of Sociology at Mount Union College in Ohio, has been appointed as Assistant Professor to teach the courses in Marriage and the Family, Industrial Sociology, and Religion and Culture.

The Department actively engaged this past summer in a Family Life Institute which was an inter-departmental feature of the summer session. Dr. Gladys Groves, of North Carolina, was one of the principal speakers.

Other members of the staff include Dr. Harry Best, John Given, and Miss Catharine Kennedy. The Bureau of Community Service under John Given has become a feature of the University's extension work in the State.

University of New Hampshire. Herbert J. Moss, Assistant Professor of Sociology, has recently been appointed Secretary of the University. Dr. Moss will continue teaching on a part-time basis until June 30. Owen B. Durgin has been appointed part-time instructor to assist with Dr. Moss's courses during the second semester.

University of Pennsylvania. Mr. Roy I. Knox and Mr. Donald H. Goff have been appointed instructors, and Mr. Robert S. Hean, Mr. Gerhard J. Falk and Mr. John E. Hughes have been appointed instructors, part-time.

Mr. Peter P. Jonitis is assisting the Legal Division of the National Mental Health Foundation in working out a project for Pennsylvania's hospitals for the mentally ill.

Dr. Otto Pollak is serving as Consulting Sociologist to the Jewish Board of Guardians, New York City, on a project to explore whether the practice of child guidance may be enriched by adopting for its use knowledge available in the social sciences, and to learn whether this practice discloses the need for further research in the social sciences.

Dr. J. P. Shaloo was Visiting Professor of Sociology at the University of Missouri during the summer session, 1949. He is Chairman of the Committee on Crime Prevention of the American Prison Association.

Dr. W. Rex Crawford is serving as Director of Foreign Students at the University of Pennsylvania. He acted as Director of the Ship Orientation Program on three student ships last summer for the

American Friends Service Committee, and directed an international seminar for the Committee in Vienna last August.

Dr. Edward P. Hutchinson is acting as consultant to the Population Division in the Department of Social Affairs of the United Nations.

Dr. Thorsten Sellin was Visiting Professor of Sociology at Princeton University during the fall semester 1949. Last August he was a member and rapporteur of an international committee convened by the Secretary General of the United Nations, to advise the secretariat on a program of inquiry and research in the prevention of crime and the treatment of offenders. He was recently elected a member of the American Philosophical Society and the Société d'Histoire de Droit, Paris. He has been granted a leave of absence beginning with the spring semester, 1950, when he will assume the post of Secretary General of the International Penal and Penitentiary Commission. His address will be Oberweg 12, Berne, Switzerland.

Dr. Dorothy S. Thomas is consultant on the 1950 Census of the Bureau of the Budget, Executive Office of the President. She is also a member of the Technical Advisory Committee and Chairman of the Committee on Research of the Population Association of America.

University of Tulsa. Effective September, 1949 two new faculty members were added to the Department of Sociology: Dr. Felton D. Freeman from the University of North Carolina and Professor Dan Wesley from the University of Michigan. Professor Wesley will direct the curriculum that is being developed in social service. Professor Freeman will teach courses in social problems, urban sociology, and research in the social sciences.

University of Wisconsin. Several faculty changes have been made. New instructors are: Hiroshi Daifuku (Anthropology), Suzanna W. Miles (Anthropology), Joseph P. Chiozza (Sociology), and Roy G. Francis (Sociology). Howard B. Gill has

filled the vacancy left by the death of Professor Carl Johnson.

Howard Becker will be on research leave in the spring semester in order to complete a study on the relation of ancient Greek mentality and society. He will fly to Germany next May for the official opening of the Council of the Institute of American Studies. A volume of his collected essays will be published by Duke University Press in the spring or summer of 1950.

H. H. Gerth is the co-editor of the first volume of the posthumous works of Karl Mannheim, to be published by Oxford University Press.

Svend Riemer has received a grant from the Social Science Research Council in order to study neighborhood delineation. He is being assisted by William K. Brussat.

The Washington Public Opinion Laboratory, in the University of Washington and State College of Washington, has established a series of bulletins reporting their State-wide polls and methodological studies. These reports are obtainable upon request without charge.

The number of Graduate Fellowships has been increased to ten, either at the University in Seattle or at the State College in Pullman. The Fellowships are intended to prepare future directors of Public Opinion Research through the Ph.D. degree. They carry a stipend of \$1,000 to \$1,200 for the nine months of the academic year. The student normally puts in half time on courses and half his time on research work in the Laboratory. When he has developed sufficient competence, some poll of the Laboratory is usually combined with his Ph.D. thesis, so that the student gets the facilities of the Laboratory with its State-wide organization of interviewers helping him gather his data. The Laboratory, in return, gets one or two years' work on a single survey, in preparing and analyzing and reporting it. Applications for Fellowships beginning October, 1950, should be in hand before the first of March.

BOOK REVIEWS



Social Structure. By GEORGE PETER MURDOCK.
New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949.
xvii, 387 pp. \$6.00 (text edition, \$4.50).

Representing a notable advance in comparative sociology (normally resistant to scientific progress), Dr. Murdock's new book earns him a permanent place in the history of social science. For the first time with reference to an aspect of social organization, it provides a precise and logical system of theory empirically tested by statistical analysis of a large sample of societies. Heretofore there have been syntheses of theory which were illustrated by examples from different societies (Lowie's *Primitive Society*), or which rested on exhaustive analysis of one society (Malinowski); there have been systematic restatements of existing theories without reference to empirical materials (Parsons' *Structure of Social Action*), elaborate classifications of societies to prove a preconceived point (*Kulturkreise*), and quantitative comparisons with virtually no theory (Hobhouse, Wheeler, and Ginsberg). These works have advanced the field of comparative sociology. But now we have a contribution that goes further: a systematic theory based on intimate acquaintance with the existing scientific literature and tested by exact comparisons of a large sample of societies. The result is a new degree of clarity and certitude. As in other branches of science, certain issues can now be regarded as settled, leaving us free to concentrate on those not yet settled.

Rigorous empirical treatment, however, generally carries the penalty of intense specialization, and this is true here. The book does not deal with social structure as a whole but only with kinship and family organization. The only exception is a loose 12-page chapter on the community. There is nothing in the book on the general theory of social norms, status and role, or social interaction. There is virtually nothing on social stratification, age and sex groups, or economic, recreational, and religious institutions. It is unfortunate that such a rigorous work should be given such a misleading title.

A research tool that facilitated Dr. Murdock's remarkable treatment of family and kinship

organization is the cross-cultural survey. Many students of comparative sociology have realized the need of systematically filing data on different societies, and have kept personal files that soon outran their space and time; but Murdock is the first since Spencer to put the compilation of such data on a comprehensive institutional basis. His project, known until recently as the Cross-Cultural Survey, has given rise to other comparative studies (e.g. Ford's *Comparative Study of Human Reproduction*), but the present work is the broadest and most theoretical yet to be connected with it. At the time of writing, however, only 150 societies had been processed by the Survey, and actually only a third of the societies covered in the book were consulted in its files.

Basing his conclusions on the comparative analysis of 250 societies, the author begins with the "nuclear" family. It is in the structural and functional elements of this atom of kinship organization that the foundations of the whole analysis are laid. The discussion then moves to the composite forms of the family. These arise in one or both of two ways—by increasing the number of marriage partners (polygamy) or by increasing the number of co-dwelling kin (residence rules). Of the 187 societies for which, out of the total sample of 250, information on this topic was available, 140 had composite families rather than independent nuclear ones. Of the 140 composite-family cases, 53 resulted solely from polygamy, 45 from a combination of polygamy with co-dwelling kin, and 42 from co-dwelling kin without polygamy.

Consanguineal groups—which exclude affinal relatives and are consequently exogamous and non-residential—are classified primarily according to the type of descent involved, and analyzed in terms of the associated forms of marriage and rules of residence at marriage. These consanguineal groups, it is maintained, are the main determinant of both kinship terminology and marriage rules. The widespread existence of unilateral descent groups is explained by demonstrating the confusion that arises in a kinship society with bilateral descent. The bilateral group, or kindred, is never the same for any two

individuals except own siblings, and consequently cannot form discrete segments of the entire society; whereas lineages, sibs, and moieties allow every individual to be placed unequivocally in a particular group. The "clan" is defined as a unilateral group which has residential unity as well. The author is somewhat confused when he emphasizes social integration as another distinguishing characteristic of the clan. Since any "group" presumably has such integration, sibs and moieties (if they are anything other than abstract principles) would also be socially integrated.

The handling of kinship terminologies in relation to kinship systems is outstanding. It throws strong empirical light on the old controversy of whether the terminologies reflect sociological realities or depend solely upon historical diffusion. After presenting past views, the author employs the postulational method of scientific inquiry (the empirical testing of theorems derived from explicitly stated postulates) to settle the issue. After stating thirteen assumptions and one postulate, he gives statistical evidence to prove or disprove thirty theorems and propositions derivable from them. The result shows overwhelmingly that kinship terminologies are mainly determined by sociological factors such as descent groups and residence rules, with secondary marriage rules playing a lesser role. So important are descent and residence, in fact, that in his chapter on the evolution of kinship patterns the author seizes upon them as the main desiderata in arriving at the conclusion that the number of possible kinship types is limited, that the directions in which one type can change are even more limited, and that consequently one can deduce from the inconsistencies in any one kinship system what must have been the previous state of that system. Thus he has furnished a new technique for historical reconstruction, the results being substantiated when checked against reconstructions by other methods.

The book concludes with three chapters on sexual norms. On the whole these are less successful than the chapters on kinship organization, with the exception of the chapter on incest. The latter illustrates the author's method beautifully. He first blocks out the dimensions of the problem in terms of the facts in his cross-cultural sample, thus making clear the range of phenomena that any theory of incest must explain. He then states a theory derived from four fields (psychoanalysis, behavioral psychology, sociology, and cultural anthropol-

ogy) which he feels accounts for *all* the facts. Finally, he tests the theory by coming back to his empirical materials and validating statistically the hypotheses formed on the basis of the theory.

The principal limitations of the volume are twofold: first, the relatively narrow focus and, second, the materials that had to be used. In neither case is criticism of the author greatly in order. The focus is simply a matter of what the author set out to do. He did not undertake to relate family and kinship organization to other aspects of social structure. This task has still to be done in systematic terms, though the present work will make it much easier. There are instances in which certain topics might have served his main purpose—e.g., an analysis of inheritance rules—but these are few.

In turn, the limitations of the materials are a reflection not on the analysis but on the field work available on primitive societies. The number of cases in which, on an important matter, information is deficient or lacking shows the sad state of ethnographic reporting. For instance, in only 192 out of the 250 societies is it possible to tell whether the society normally had an independent nuclear family or some form of extended family. In 65 cases there was no report as to whether the levirate and sororate were present or absent. In 90 cases there were no data whatsoever on sex taboos. Over and over again the problem of non-reporting complicates the analysis. This is a serious reflection on ethnography when it is realized that the societies in the sample were selected because of the relative fullness of the description as well as for the representativeness of geographical areas.

The materials are limited in another sense. Each society is treated as a unit, the assumption being that each is characterized by one pattern with respect to a particular feature of kinship. With the exception of one or two instances (notably the degree to which polygyny is actually practiced where permitted), no information is given on the range of variation *within* the society. There are, in other words, inter-societal statistics but no intra-societal statistics. In many cases data on the range of variation within the society would have been highly relevant. With respect to the non-observance of sexual taboos, for example, a much more complete understanding of the social control of sex could have been obtained. In fact, the discussion is almost exclusively in terms of *norms* rather than in terms of gradations in the norms or of actual behavior. One indication of this is the constant

reference to marriage, with virtually no mention of concubinage. The assumption of a standard norm becomes particularly questionable when complex societies are discussed, such as the "Chinese" or the "Yankees" of New England. All of this points to too exclusive a preoccupation with ideal patterns and too little attention to internal variation on the part of field workers, and perhaps too little recognition of these limitations on the part of the author.

The list of sources in the bibliography shows a surprising scantiness. On many societies, for example, only one article or one chapter is used. For the Chinese there are three articles and one general history. For the "Yankee (Connecticut group)" there are only two sources, the author's own unpublished observations of a Connecticut community and one article by Talcott Parsons on the kinship system of the United States. The author admits the insufficiency of sources in certain cases, but explains it by the sheer time limitations involved in working on 250 societies. This is certainly an obstacle in comparative work, and one that the Cross-Cultural Survey will help overcome, but in a few cases the sources covered by the Survey itself seem to be too few.

Despite some limitations, mostly not the author's, the book represents a major advance. It is a mature work, obviously the product of long reflection, careful logic, and systematic handling of empirical data. Its ideas and procedures are presented with clarity and frankness, and with telling use of the theoretical literature. It is a work of genuine scientific craftsmanship. One is heartened by the thought that if this sort of job can be done on family and kinship organization it can also be done for political organization, religious institutions, and other aspects of social structure.

KINGSLEY DAVIS

Columbia University

Social Theory and Social Structure: Toward the Codification of Theory and Research. By ROBERT K. MERTON. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1949. 423 pp. \$5.00.

One of the conceptual distinctions which Merton introduces in this collection of papers, all but one of which have appeared in various journals during the last fifteen years, may be employed as a paradigm in reviewing the book as a whole. This is the distinction, regarded by the author as paramount in all functional analysis, between manifest and latent functions. Almost self-explanatory, these terms suggest that things are not always as they seem in society, and

that the sociologist may not ignore the "unknown," the "unintended," the "unanticipated," the "nonpurposed," the "unrecognized," the "subsidiary," or the "collateral" consequences of social behavior or of cultural traits.

The manifest function of the book is to present in one place some of the essays for which the author has won a deserved reputation. Since the early 1930's, when he was a graduate student at Harvard, Merton has been prolific in the production of articles. Selecting fourteen for inclusion here, he has arranged them in four groups: (1) sociological theory, (2) studies in social and cultural structure, (3) the sociology of knowledge and mass communications, and (4) studies in the sociology of science. The first group contains the one new essay, "Manifest and Latent Functions," and two others, "Sociological Theory," and "The Bearing of Empirical Research upon the Development of Sociological Theory." In the first of these latter two Merton, indulging in a series of distinctions which may be nicer than necessary, sub-divides sociological theory into six separate classes, and in the second he is enamoured of the serendipity component in sociological research.

The second group contains four articles, "Social Structure and Anomie," "Bureaucratic Structure and Personality," "Role of the Intellectual in Public Bureaucracy," and "The Self-Fulfilling Prophecy." Here we find Merton at his best. Although one might question the applicability of the word "anomie" to situations which exhibit opposing norms rather than no norms, the analysis indicates that pressures in the direction of deviant behavior may and frequently do originate in the social structure itself, a proposition which finds explicit formulation also in much contemporary criminological theory, notably that of Sutherland and Taft. The two chapters on bureaucracy are so well known that they require no comment here, and the last essay in this group is an examination of the various ways in which prophecies tend to generate their own supporting evidence.

Two essays on the sociology of knowledge and one (written jointly with Paul F. Lazarsfeld) entitled "Studies in Radio and Film Propaganda," comprise the third group. The fourth contains five chapters on science and technology in relation to the social order. Each of the four sections is preceded by introductory remarks which attempt, in the third group impressively but not quite convincingly, to integrate the subject-matter of the essays which follow. In all of these pieces Merton displays a becoming

modesty, a quiet competence, and shrewd analytical insights. In addition, he has a penchant for paradigms, many of which are highly suggestive. Few criticisms of the manifest function are possible, except those petulant ones which proceed from a lack of convergence between the prejudices of author and reviewer; and indeed the publisher also merits a word of congratulation for re-printing, in book form, these otherwise fugitive papers.

The latent function of this book also lends itself to quick discernment. The collection as a whole has two primary concerns, as Merton himself states: (1) the consolidation of theory and research, and (2) the codification of theory and method. One may facetiously—but only half facetiously—reduce these to one, the codification of Parsons and Lazarsfeld, two men whose influence upon Merton is both apparent and generously acknowledged. Like his earlier mentor, Merton has carefully constructed a meta-language in which to urge this particular kind of codification. The systematic character of this meta-language, however, can induce the easy but erroneous assumption that sociological theory itself is systematic, and the meta-language may thus have both manifest functions and latent dysfunctions. The codification of theory and research is a commendable goal, and one which forces itself upon the attention of all who earnestly seek sociological knowledge, but it will ultimately have to involve sociology itself rather than meta-sociology, theories of society rather than theories about sociology. Codification in any sense, in spite of this collection of papers, is a latent and not yet manifest function of Merton's work, a conclusion which he concedes on the first page of his Introduction. It is still true that the significance of sociological research varies inversely with the precision of the methods employed and the significance of a theory of society varies inversely with the possibility of its empirical confirmation. The fault lies not with Merton but in our science.

ROBERT BIERSTEDT

University of Illinois

The Social Structure of Values. By RADKHAMAL MUKERJEE. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1949. xx, 418 pp. 18s.

In its emphasis upon values as primary data for sociology and as the central reality of "society," Mukerjee's book is in line with a rapidly growing tendency in Western sociology and related disciplines. The work itself is complex, synoptic, unusual, and so peculiarly

uneven that it is difficult to review as a whole.

The explicit aim of the volume is to give "an analysis of the structure and dynamics of values that underlie the unity and stability of culture and the continuity and uniformity of groups and institutions." (p. vii) The structural-functional relations of values to other components of social systems are placed at the core of sociological theory. Man, society, and values have to be understood not separately but as integral aspects of the total "field" in which human organisms become social personalities, assimilating and creating values in the context of a particular culture and status-role system.

There is nothing cramped about the scope of the treatment. After a preliminary discussion of "sociology as science and as philosophy," the author launches into a generalized theory of values, including a lengthy exposition concerning the social origin and evolution of values. A chapter on the "psychological laws of value" attempts to set forth a scheme linking different "stages" of valuation to different types of social groupings, conceived as progressively "higher" in a scale of goodness rising toward a *sumum bonum*. (This kind of explicit normative judgment permeates the entire work.) A similar approach is applied to analysis of moral values and sanctions (Chapter V). Having developed a theory and classification of values, the author turns to the context and mechanisms of expression, maintenance, and change of various types of values. This is provocatively introduced by a chapter on "laughter as the social gesture of valuation," a treatment often rich in insight concerning the functional significance of humor. Subsequent chapters contrast the value-situation in familistic or primary groups with that in specialized interest-groups, analyze the ordering of values in the status systems of societies, and discuss the processes of conservation or change of values (gradual or revolutionary).

Any brief inventory of the work's contents gives little hint of its richness of detail and its profusion of challenging hypotheses. It takes its place in sociological literature, not as an exposition of new empirical knowledge but as a theoretical synthesis which in its discursive course opens multiple vistas of unsolved problems.

Of the many firmly-grounded positive contributions found in the work, the following are especially noteworthy: (1) a clear grasp of the nature of values as organizing, directional factors in conduct, and keen perception of the complex levels and elusive character of value

experience itself (e.g. pp. 107 ff.); (2) theorems dealing with the importance of common values in social cohesion are put to skillful use in interpreting the modern crisis of industrial society (e.g., pp. 220-236, 270 ff, 321 ff.); (3) certain conceptual clarifications, even if not entirely acceptable, represent a real step toward more precise and adequate distinctions, e.g., the differentiation of goals, ideals and norms and of subtypes of each. Numerous useful hypotheses and empirical generalizations are scattered through the work. Most of these need further specification and testing, but Mukerjee's statement of them should be enormously stimulating to the empirically-minded researcher.

On the other hand, many sociologists, including this reviewer, will be disturbed by the blurred intermingling of scientific materials with normative judgments. One can accept values as primary data for sociology without accepting the task of setting normative imperatives for society, and certainly without dissolving the hard-won distinctions between the value-position of science and other value-positions. Specifically, the reiterated emphasis upon a putative "progress" of society toward ever higher value-levels involves a thesis which has no place in a scientific sociology, as this reviewer understands it. The normative-synthetic character of the work probably has something to do with a number of ambiguities, contradictions, or errors in specific interpretations, such as the occasional surprisingly uncritical use of Freudian concepts (cf. pp. 277-279), certain unguarded generalizations (e.g. pp. 81, 398), and the paucity of systematic evidence for many comprehensive generalizations. This is an encyclopaedic work—and the certified and validated research concerning values is not yet here to make it a codification of tested findings. But as prospectus and stimulus, it undoubtedly deserves a careful scrutiny.

ROBIN M. WILLIAMS, JR.

Cornell University

The Neurosis of Man: An Introduction to a Science of Human Behavior. By TRIGANT BURROW. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company; London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1949. xxvi, 428 pp. \$7.50.

To one who has followed, even from afar, the development of Burrow's work, this latest effort to expound his findings and doctrines represents a real increase in intelligibility. Even to focus clearly certain errors is a gain. Editors have probably continued their sympathetic

recognition partly because of a feeling that there "must be something there" to have motivated a lifetime of consistent, persistent, but discouraging efforts to demonstrate what seem to Burrow saving discoveries. His trenchant social criticism, convinced sincerity, and tantalizing adumbrations keep readers constantly expectant of the clinching revelation, despite his frequent relapses into didactic paraphrasing. For a reader just discovering Burrow the book may prove no less bewildering than his early publications. One feels vicarious frustration in finding again at critical non-consumatory points certain basic shortcomings of communicability as barriers to acceptability to social scientists:

1) In such expressions as "man as a phylo-organism" it is never made clear whether the reference is to an actual (or potential) organismic unity, integrity, spontaneity and peace *within* each or all individuals as such, or to a transcendent alleged unity or entity (conscious or unconscious) of the species as such (cf. Jung's mystic "racial unconscious"). The ambiguity may confuse the author himself.

2) If it is claimed that a collective mind of some ultra-individual sort has been discovered by the Lifwynn Laboratory (on a basis of "observed feeling"), such claim must be received with friendly but suspended judgment until the research-design and the experimental operations are more directly presented in a form which permits others to test the conclusions by repeating the experiments. So far as is recalled, there has not yet been published a "blow-by-blow" case record or verbatim reportage, by participant and/or observer, of a single phyloanalytic session. All we have is a general introspective account of Burrow's personal suppression of selfish affects and strenuous assurances that the "group therapies" now popular are nothing like phyloanalysis; meticulous accounts of physical measurements of individuals who presumably are not at the moment operating as functional group members; and admissions that their group members have great difficulty in ridding themselves of personal defensiveness (conventional self-respect). Phyloanalysis is not done in group sessions as earlier publications seemed to indicate, but this book does not clarify that point.

3) The discoveries of demonstrable measurable cerebral and ocular differences between a state of mind called "cotention" (which seems to be relaxed, confident, and acceptant), and an alternate and opposite mood called "ditation,"

are not convincingly integrated with the main course of Burrow's theories. It is not clear that "cotention," however actual, is essentially societal or phyllic or inter-organismic.

4) Also, when tension is felt between the "part-brain" and the personal whole; and the part-brain, or self-feeling affect, is deliberately suppressed so as to release the whole larger self, there is assumed another something to *sense* the tension, to suppress the selfishness, and to appreciate the cotention when it is achieved. What this *tertium quid* is, Burrow does not explain.

5) Persons under group-influence (whether of quietism or of enthusiasm) can deliberately "lose themselves to find themselves"; parents may eventually learn to rear children on the categories "wise," "skillful," etc., instead of "right" and "wrong." But two billion people cannot be treated by the Lifwynn Foundation, and Burrow does not tell us how else the rest of us may save ourselves from our selves.

6) While it is shown how a child absorbs selfishness from the culture through personal-social interaction with pre-inculturated parents, Burrow has never explained adequately on historic, prehistoric, or biological grounds, the original cultural "deflection" or vitiation. Man's fall from an alleged psychosomatic ideal state of nature seems to have been an "inadvertence," a *befall* or *Unfall* (ac-cid-ent).

7) The possible situational etiology of the "unhealthy" and "healthy" states of mind (somewhat over-dichotomized by Burrow) under degrees of social and cultural security, are not recognized.

8) There is little, if anything, described as "phyllic" that would not be more accurately and intelligibly described as cultural. With this shift, the value and validity of Burrow's analysis or theories of the etiology of personal dissociation does not seem to depend on the positing of a mystic "phylothalamic" entity.

9) Burrow does not describe specifically in what respects the conduct of actual persons who have developed or restored "cotentive" behavior differs from others' or from their own prior "dientive" behavior.

10) It is not made clear how Western men could rid themselves of all individualistic motivation without blotting out our entire present culture patterns and reverting to a sort of vegetative ecology.

11) Burrow has been courteous in footnoting for the reader the pronunciation of his own name. It would relax a slight recurrent curi-

osity in readers' minds if he were to drop a note to explain publicly not only the pronunciation of "Lifwynn" but what it stands for, how the Lifwynn Foundation occurred, and whether the laboratory supports its participants or is supported by them.

It is to their credit that this group has endeavored to find a physiological distinction between self-centered and community-centered feeling and motivation and an objective basis for an underlying spontaneous communal sociality in human nature. But it is ironic that Burrow attributes our difficulties partly to the growth of divisive, affect-laden linguistic symbols which thwart our capacity for shared meaning by predefining our social situations in antagonistic terms; while to reveal this simple truth he uses an elaborate, novel, private vocabulary which, despite reiteration and a glossary, hampers his own ability to communicate. As in the case of Korzybski, it appears that a concern over difficulties with words and their evaluative contexts produced vast efforts, profound thought, brilliant insights—and a mass of difficult verbalization. In both cases it remains for disciples to distill and interpret and apply the findings and doctrines, in their integrated relationships with cognate doctrines and facts from other pioneers.

Again as with Korzybski's group there arises a suspicion that the doctrine and facts when translated into plain English are not so novel as they seem to their authors. Burrow discovers independently (a) that selfishness is the original sin of the world and (b) that the quality of experience probably known to social mystics throughout history is the salvation of the world.

Recipients of revealed truth become charismatic evangelists. Mystics have always struggled to express the ineffable, to verbalize the non-speaking, to communicate the incommunicable communion. Burrow's work may, however, represent a pioneer effort to give to these subjective feelings an objective "factuality" and controllability through measurement for observations of bodily reactions in self-centered, strained moods as contrasted with moods of friendly, relaxed, participant group-feeling (spontaneous or self-induced) or environmental acceptance. One hopes that the phyloanalysts will now complement their jeremiads with more applicable down-to-earth, how-to-do-it designs for therapeutic living.

Northwestern University

THOMAS D. ELIOT

The Psychology of Social Classes. By RICHARD CENTERS. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1949. vi, 244 pp. \$3.50.

Centers' study is the effort of a psychologist to fill "the vacuum created by ignorance" about "the problem of class consciousness . . . long neglected by psychologists." The vacuum to which he refers is apparently the considerable theoretical literature totally devoid, it seems, of empirical content—a most debatable thesis. Less debatable is whether the author's material fills any sort of vacuum.

This volume, not another treatise of opinion, is in essence a defense of what the author calls "the interest group theory of class structure." In an ambiguous sentence he asserts that he has not formulated a definition of social classes but "an hypothesis concerning the relationship between stratification and class consciousness." For this theory he leans heavily upon the vacuum-creating ignorance of earlier writers. However, he studiously separates himself from the Marxists, who, he finds, attribute rather than discover "specific psychological characteristics to the various strata of the population." He finds it necessary to acknowledge his indebtedness to them for their ideas, which "contain in themselves a theory," i.e., Centers' own interest group theory.

His method is statistical analysis of interview-reported opinions. Although the opinion polls have for ten years sought to display some of the psychological characteristics with which he is concerned, Centers rather summarily dismisses them in order to consider exclusively the findings of his own "quota control" survey of interviews with some 1,200 white males 21 years of age and over. Since this study is "the psychology" of social classes, the author should have made it clear why, in view of the wide range of psychological concepts and methods, he limited himself to a trait analysis; for "trait" can hardly be regarded as either a comprehensive or an unexceptionable concept. (For instance, are traits generic or specific?) Centers' interest group theory logically requires generic traits: people who live alike think alike, and uniformities of behavior—e.g., conservatism—would be expected in all the problem situations of a given class. Such predictable uniformities he does not find. On the contrary, he notes both cross-class homogeneity and intra-class heterogeneity. Even on such a critical matter of class consciousness as class identification the members of the various classes, he finds, show a wide scatter.

His interest group theory finally reduces to

a hen-or-egg question: Are class attitudes a function of class status, or is class status a function of differential attitudes? The writer "is prejudiced," he admits on several occasions, toward the former view; but he neglects to cite evidence for his belief. Indeed, he fails to prove that what he denominates as class attitudes are actually "class-linked," though his statistical associations are plain enough. But even a successful demonstration of community of class attitudes tells us nothing about the causation of that homogeneity. In fact, since his data show that his respondents in different occupations put themselves in the same class, that those in the same occupation put themselves in different classes, and that persons in the same social class exhibit wide variations in radicalism and conservatism, he is hard put to explain how they can even identify themselves with one another at all. When he does essay explanations, his suggestions get along very well without his interest group theory. He does, indeed, find two major modalities; but, as Llewellyn Gross has pointedly said, his tables show that the majority of his respondents fell outside these two classes. He has failed to establish the elementary considerations of any investigation of class consciousness: that there exists a definable and demonstrable class consciousness and that there is class behavior which is class linked. The author himself seems to be confused in his own consciousness of class, for he uses (as in the last chapter) the terms "class" and "stratum" interchangeably.

The really strategic failure of the book is suggested in the following sentence. "These constituent tendencies in the formation of social classes are the responses of individuals to the whole complex situation of their lives, but are determined to a large extent by their statuses and roles in their activities of getting a living." (p. 211) Since the author nowhere presents supporting evidence for this his main thesis, we are still at a loss to know what is the psychology of social classes.

An interest group theory might produce a psychology of social classes if the investigator concerned himself with the social psychology of class-representative interest groups. Centers' study does not suggest, to this reviewer at any rate, that the technique of opinion analysis is able, despite its variety of statistical operations, to solve the primary psychological problems involved here. It is to be hoped that other psychologists will consider other methods of investigating the problem of class consciousness in

order that the hypothetical "vacuum" created by the ignorance of still other social scientists may be filled.

PAUL MEADOWS

University of Nebraska

Language of Politics: Studies in Quantitative Semantics. By HAROLD D. LASSWELL, NATHAN LEITES, and Associates. New York: George W. Stewart, Inc., 1949. vii, 398 pp. \$5.75.

The most recent addition to the growing literature on content analysis studies is this republication of papers issued during the war by the Experimental Division for the Study of Wartime Communication at the Library of Congress. The project, supported by the Rockefeller Foundation, was under the direction of Harold Lasswell and his associates. Presumably the book represents a careful selection of the more important technical and substantive papers prepared by the division.

The major objective is to demonstrate "... that political power can be better understood in the degree that language is better understood, and that the language of politics can be usefully studied by quantitative methods." This involves three objectives: (1) a theoretical statement of the nature or political power and the "language of power"; (2) presentation of the special problems and major techniques for quantifying the language of power as developed by Lasswell and his associates; and (3) demonstration of the usefulness of quantification through a series of empirical studies quantifying the language of politics.

In the introductory essay, Professor Lasswell summarizes the nature of political power and the language of power. He adds little to his earlier writings, and his treatment is unsystematic and fragmentary. Fortunately his earlier work, e.g., *World Politics and Personal Insecurity*, provides an adequate background against which to view the present volume.

Contending that an important unexplored frontier for the study of communication in the field of politics is the area of political style, Lasswell outlines "a theory of style for the guidance of thought and research." While this discussion hardly amounts to a "theory of style," it does expound a series of propositions on the relationship between variations in style and basic features of the power situation which may prove valuable either as guides to research or as hypotheses subject to verification.

The empirical studies consist of research reports designed to demonstrate the usefulness of

content analysis to describe propaganda in quantitative terms and to determine relationships between a given (content) characteristic of communications and quantitative expressions of political reality. Lasswell's "Propaganda Detection and the Courts" demonstrates that quantitative expression can be and is admitted as evidence by Federal Courts. The study also adequately shows the value of content analysis in obtaining factual data in order to reach decisions.

The bulk of the empirical studies on propaganda—of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and the Comintern—show that factual data on the language of politics can be gathered by means of content analysis. The relationship of this kind of data to meaningful propositions about characteristics of communication and political reality is, however, less clear. The data on May Day slogans issued by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (prepared by Sergius Yakobson and Harold Lasswell) yield little more than description of the slogans and their variation with changes in the political sphere investigated. This then becomes the basis for "speculation," if not generalization. Similarly the examination of changes in Comintern policy by Nathan Leites and the investigation by Leites and I. de Sola Pool of the manner in which the Comintern news services reacted to Communist strikes and elections outside Russia result in either "meaningless" or "self-evident" propositions. In the absence of genuine demonstration, analytic interpretation is resorted to and the quest for quantification is lost in a morass of speculation.

In an earlier essay entitled "Why Be Quantitative," Lasswell eloquently makes the book's major point. The study of politics can be advanced by quantitative analysis of political discourse, as quantification about communication yields scientific knowledge and admits of policy formation. But after reading the whole book, one wonders whether the applications presented provide the most fruitful area for quantification or whether the empiricists have made appropriate use of the types of content analysis outlined by Irving Janis. For example, considerable reliance appears to be placed on symbol analysis rather than thematic analysis. Where thematic analyses are employed, the propositions tested often lack the "analytical flair" so evident in the interpretation. If one seeks valid empirical propositions with respect to a theory of political power, one will be keenly disappointed in the level of empiricism demonstrated.

Sociologists will probably be most interested in the section on technique. Of particular interest here is the article by Janis on an indirect method for validating content analysis procedures, viz. inferring validity from productivity. Indirect validation rests on the principle: "the larger the number of relationships established by use of a content analysis technique, the higher the probability that the procedure estimates signification responses correctly, and hence the higher the degree of validity." (p. 81). This appears to be a defensible procedure, particularly where techniques such as content analysis are employed. Also included are a discussion of the reliability of content analysis categories by Abraham Kaplan and Joseph M. Goldsen, reports on recording and context units by Alan Grey, David Kaplan, and Harold Lasswell, and observations on the use of samples in content analysis by Alexander Mintz.

A final chapter on technique by Irving Janis and Raymond Fadner derives a "coefficient of imbalance" to provide a quantitative measure for the extent to which "favorable, neutral, or unfavorable treatment is accorded to the topic of symbol under analysis." This represents an advance over previous measures in that it takes into account the "neutral" response as well as the "favorable-unfavorable" response categories. The coefficient provides the average presentation of relevant content and the predominant direction of the content. Unfortunately, to the reviewer's knowledge, no empirical study using the coefficient is available to assess the usefulness of the measure. It should prove to be of value in obtaining a more precise statement of the degree of imbalance of classified content data.

ALBERT J. REISS, JR.

University of Chicago

Political Parties: A Sociological Study of The Oligarchical Tendencies of Modern Democracy. By ROBERT MICHELS (Translated by Eden and Cedar Paul). Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1949. ix, 416 pp. \$4.50.

In the thirty-four years since the publication of the first edition of Michels' *Political Parties* relatively little has been written in Europe and the United States on the theory of parties. There has been much research on political leadership, pressure groups, political parties, and public opinion, but such work has been largely descriptive and historical. While there have been some approximations, no one in political science has set himself the task of examining the nature of

party in a comparative context, and in a comprehensive and systematic way. The consequence is that most of the classics in the field are the products of the turn-of-the-century debunkers—Pareto, Mosca, and Michels. This is somewhat gruesome fare to recommend to young and malleable minds, but the absence of sounder and wiser work creates a serious problem of instruction.

The appearance of this new edition may be of importance, therefore, not because of the validity of the position advanced, but because it could provoke scholars in the field of political behavior to approach their current problems with similar analytical rigor. Some of Michels' oversimplifications might very well serve as points of departure for empirical research, and for the interpretation of already existing findings.

It is of interest that this great shatterer of liberal illusions, this "realistic" though kindly consoler of thwarted idealists, was a most consistent absolutist himself. His doctrines of the inevitable treason of leadership, the absoluteness of oligarchy, the total incompetence of the mass, imply his basic premise, that scientific truth is the opposite of utopianism. What is also striking on a re-reading of this "classic" is the fact that Michels rests his conclusions about the impossibility of democracy on an analysis of the internal political structure of the party, without reference to inter-party competition.

GABRIEL A. ALMOND

Yale University

Le Pouvoir et L' Opinion: Essai de Psychologie Politique et Sociale. By ALFRED SAUVY. Paris: Payot, 1949. 188 pp. 450 fr.

"In proportion as the structure of government gives force to public opinion it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened." These words of George Washington constitute in essence the theme of M. Sauvy's essay in political and social psychology. That apathy, ignorance, and misinformation play an important part in the determination of public policies, both domestic and international, has been amply demonstrated by students of public opinion in this country. M. Sauvy, drawing his examples almost exclusively from the recent French economic experiences, provides further documentation of the thesis that public opinions which are not in accord with objectively established facts can have serious political and economic consequences. As long as international relations, for

example, remains a game of reciprocal ignorance, to use M. Sauvy's apt phrase, security and peace are threatened. M. Sauvy's concrete demonstrations of the destructive economic consequences of human stupidity are very revealing.

By matching public opinions regarding economic changes against the facts revealed by objective indices of prices, productivity, cost of living, and the like, M. Sauvy effectively builds up a strong case in support of his basic thesis that in many instances people render judgments concerning public affairs on the basis of opinions which are far removed from social reality. He further supports this viewpoint by analyzing such economic myths as the myth of the benign past, the myth of plenty, the myth of freedom from control, and the myths underlying French economic policy regarding automobiles and alcohol. In this connection, M. Sauvy wisely distinguishes between "natural" myths based on ignorance and "artificial" myths deliberately created by propaganda.

But M. Sauvy is concerned not only to present the evidence, he is anxious to demonstrate consequences and analyze solutions. Fuller economic information, better instruction in statistics and economic problems are part of his proposed program.

In general, M. Sauvy's volume offers little in the way of generalizations about public opinion processes that is not already fairly well established by public opinion specialists in this country. His descriptions of how the man in the street, the legislative representative, or the government official acquires his opinions is in large measure commonplace. But students of public opinion will find invaluable M. Sauvy's collection of large numbers of illustrations of the deviations between objectively established facts and stubbornly held public opinions, as well as his brilliant analyses of the consequences of these deviations.

Although, for the most part, M. Sauvy is aware of the forces that mold public policy, he appears extremely naive in his suggestion that two messages of 1,000 words—one from President Truman to the Soviet people and one from Stalin to the American people—would do more for peace than 1,000 diplomatic contacts. M. Sauvy's stipulated condition that these messages be properly addressed to the other country without regard to domestic public opinion is certainly unrealistic.

HARRY ALPERT

Queens College

Sociologie de la connaissance: Sa structure et ses rapports avec la philosophie; Étude critique des systèmes de Karl Mannheim et de Pitirim A. Sorokin. By JACQUES J. MAQUET, with a preface by F. S. C. NORTHROP. Louvain, Belgium: Institut de Recherches Économiques et Sociales, 1949. 360 pp. 175 frs. belges.

Maquet's book provides a well-organized and detailed introduction to most of the work of Mannheim and Sorokin in the sociology of knowledge, although it does not supersede certain writings in English on the two authors—e.g. that of Becker and Speier on Sorokin; and Merton, V. G. Hinshaw, and A. Child on Mannheim. Some of these American authors are not always adequately taken into consideration by Maquet, and Hinshaw is not even cited in the otherwise very useful and complete bibliography.

But the book has a more general objective than to provide a critique of Mannheim and Sorokin. It aims to take stock of the present state of the sociology of knowledge and to settle—tentatively, at least—the question of its relationship to the philosophy of knowledge. Of the several points raised in this attempt, only one will be expounded here. Maquet holds that the *sociology* of knowledge begins with an idea which guides its search for facts, then "synthesizes" the results of this search, and finally accounts for both facts and synthesis by means of an explanatory theory. The *philosophy* of knowledge, on the other hand, is based upon a metaphysical conception of the nature of reality, from which it derives a certain conception of the nature of knowledge, which then, in turn, is "confirmed" by facts, the last step being of relatively "subordinate importance."

A schematic, tabular exposition of these aspects in the work of Mannheim and Sorokin (pp. 310, 313) permits ready comparison of these authors' sociologies of knowledge and philosophies of knowledge, although the latter are implicit rather than explicit. The similarities in the two schemes provide Maquet with a basis for certain generalizations regarding the relationships between sociology of knowledge and philosophy of knowledge beyond Mannheim and Sorokin (pp. 318-319). Although the two disciplines differ in aims, methods, and levels of reality on which they operate, the explanatory principle utilized by the sociology of knowledge does connect it with philosophy of knowledge: the scientific explanation has philosophic meaning. The connection, in the nature of "probable

conformity," is based on two principles: (a) the function and criteria of validity of a scientific theory and of a philosophic principle differ from one another; and (b) the phenomenal is "in harmony with" the nomenal. Therefore, if the connection between the synthesis of the scientific results and its explanation is a necessary one, the explanation, because scientifically valid, is philosophically true; and other cases must be "explained." Hence, in searching for hypotheses, the sociologist of knowledge should select philosophically true propositions, if only because of their putative scientific fertility. Conversely, the philosopher of knowledge should pay attention to such functions of scientific hypotheses as his conception of the nature of knowledge may have. If this conception at the same time is a fertile scientific hypothesis, this "augurs well," although it does not *prove* the truth of the conception; if not, the philosophy needs "very critical" re-examination, although it cannot be said to have been "invalidated by the facts."

This formulation raises interesting epistemological and methodological problems: it is a stimulating attempt to re-interpret the relations between science and philosophy—by a thinker who is sympathetic to both. It is hoped that this exceedingly condensed and necessarily incomplete review will entice many readers to the study of Maquet's exposition.

KURT H. WOLFF

The Ohio State University

The Pre-Election Polls of 1948: Report to the Committee on Analysis of Pre-Election Polls and Forecasts. By F. MOSTELLER, HERBERT HYMAN, P. J. MCCARTHY, E. S. MARKS, D. B. TRUMAN. With the Collaboration of L. W. DOOB, D. MACRAE, JR., F. F. STEPHAN, S. A. STOFFER, S. S. WILKS. New York: Social Science Research Council (Bulletin 60) 1949. xv, 396 pp. \$3.00 (\$2.50, paper).

All of the national polling organizations and most of the state and local polls failed in estimating the outcome of the 1948 presidential election. This volume verifies that error. It does not say why the polls failed except for one section which attempts to demonstrate statistically that polls *per se* cannot estimate close elections anyway. The authors do present over 100 possible reasons for the error and the report includes the finest and most voluminous collection of the data, methodologies, and analyses of the polling process that has yet appeared.

Shortly after the 1948 election, the Social Science Research Council set up The Committee

on Analysis of Pre-election Polls and Forecasts. The Committee immediately organized a staff to analyze the material made available to them by national and other polling organizations. Since the national polls made all of their records and processes available and the other polls provided all of the material requested, the data to be examined were voluminous. Believing that a report should be published as soon as possible, "before gross misconceptions became crystallized," the Committee published its report on December 27, 1948. This report is included in an appendix to this volume.

The volume here reviewed consists of reports by the staff members who worked on separate aspects of the problem. There is a chapter on each of the various stages of the technical development, administration, processing, and reporting of polls. Not only are the detailed methods used by the polls presented, but the various chapters and the appendix contain the raw data from which final election estimates were made. Those who might be interested in so doing may take data from this volume for their own analyses.

The strength of these reports lies in the fullness of presentation of data and minute turning over of stones in the search for errors, both actual and possible. The analysis is both thorough and fair.

The weakness of the report—and the question that may be raised by some whether this volume really contributes to the advancement of polling—lies in three areas. First, there is almost a complete absence of any theoretical basis or frame of reference for polling as a methodology. This is admitted in the opening chapter when it is stated that the committee and staff "have confined themselves almost entirely to the technical aspects." But the analysis of polling as a tool, without any reference to theories of attitudes, opinions, and correlative behavior, results in a mere listing of more or less routine and even superficial errors without pattern or evaluation.

The second weakness is the almost complete lack of evaluation of the various errors. There is no rating of their order of importance or even of which might be primary and which secondary. It is significant that no chapter of conclusions is offered.

The third weakness lies in the relative failure of this series of reports to fulfill the promise of the Committee's report to outline research problems upon which social scientists might work to correct some of the errors. It is true that both implicitly and sometimes explicitly various areas

of needed research are indicated. It is questionable whether these were not already known to most social scientists. But there is very little mention of specific types of research problems, hypotheses to be tested, or experimental designs to be worked out.

The material and analyses presented do indicate that the failure of the polls in 1948 was owing largely to the failure of the related sciences to provide the professional polling organizations with adequate frames of reference, experimentally verified and reliable techniques, and theoretically sound bases for analysis.

J. E. BACHELDER

State College of Washington

The Trend of Scottish Intelligence: A Comparison of the 1947 and 1932 Surveys of the Intelligence of Eleven-year-old Pupils. By the MENTAL SURVEY COMMITTEE (GODFREY H. THOMSON, Chairman). London: University of London Press, Ltd. (Publications of the Scottish Council for Research in Education, No. XXX), 1949. xxviii, 151 pp. 7s. 6d.

The 1932 survey of Scottish intelligence showed clearly, as have American studies, that the average intelligence test score of members of large families was significantly lower than that of members of small families. It was reasoned that this might well be leading to a steady fall in national intelligence if its cause were that the more intelligent parents limit their families while less intelligent parents do not or do so to a lesser degree. The Population Investigation Committee became interested in the question and financed the present investigation into the trend in Scottish intelligence. The study was done by the Mental Survey Committee of the Scottish Council for Research in Education, under the chairmanship of Professor Godfrey H. Thomson.

The plan was to test the intelligence of all 11-year-old Scottish children in the public and private schools in 1947 and to compare the results with the 1932 results for the same age group, using the same group intelligence test. Again, as had been done in the earlier investigation, a random sample was tested using individual tests to check on the results of the group test. The present volume goes into some detail about the methods used in carrying out the survey, but reports only briefly on the results. The major findings of the study are that there is clearly a negative association between size of family and average intelligence score in 1947, just as there was in 1932, but that instead of the expected fall in average intelligence of

1947 eleven-year-olds in comparison with the 1932 group, there was a substantial increase in scores, both on the group and the individually administered tests. It is obvious that the committee was taken aback by this, but to its everlasting credit made no concerted attempt to explain away the results. Several interesting speculations are offered by Professor Thomson as possible explanations of the rise in average score—some of which are basically environmental, and others fundamentally genetic—but he rightly points out that until these are thoroughly tested by the accumulation of evidence, judgment must be suspended as to their correctness. Meanwhile concerted efforts will be made (says Professor Thomson) "to examine (and, let us hope, find that we can refute) every conceivable explanation which may leave open the possibility that adverse selection is going on behind a facade of temporary improvement." One wonders if the same zeal to examine possible explanations would have been exhibited had the results gone as expected.

The undertaking reported in this volume is a remarkable one. The Committee has done an excellent job, both in the planning and execution of the survey and in the presentation of the results thus far reported. Social psychologists and sociologists will profit from reading this volume and will anxiously await the publication of that portion of the inquiry dealing with the association between sociological factors and intelligence.

WM. H. SEWELL

University of Wisconsin

Demographic Yearbook (Annuaire Demographique) 1948. Prepared by the STATISTICAL OFFICE of the United Nations in collaboration with the DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL AFFAIRS. Lake Success, N.Y.: United Nations (Columbia University Press, distributor) 1949. 596 pp. \$7.00.

International demography's rapid advance in the last two decades is marked by no more impressive milestone of achievement than this eagerly awaited compilation. By bridging the years 1932-1947, in the main, it preserves a measure of continuity with several antecedent but less comprehensive series; and in its scholarly excellence and proposed scope this initial volume gives ample promise of becoming an unrivaled registry of world population materials. Such a publication, recommended independently in their first meetings by both the Statistical Commission and the Population Commission of the Department of Social Affairs, was passed on

by the Economic and Social Council only two years ago next month. These two bodies having the responsibility for its preparation drew up a list of forty-five general topics comprehending the desired information. Inadequacies in national data, however, have forced omission in this first volume of some twenty subjects (e.g. household by size, births by age of mother and parity, morbidity, divorce, etc.). Nevertheless, sufficient less recondite statistics were available to provide 39 tables (470 quarto pp.) divided among general topics as follows: Population—12, Births—6, Deaths—8, Marriages—4, Reproduction Rates (gross and net)—1, Life Tables—3, and Migration—5. Four maps indicate the extent of world coverage of as many selected tables; and one map shows the 166 areas (77 percent of world population) returning the demographic questionnaire from which the data were in large part compiled.

Considerable variation naturally exists in the geographic and temporal dimensions of the several tables. Administrative units range in size from tiny Campbell Island (population 9) to China (population "over 460 million"); coverage of the world ranges from 100 percent for population size, area, and density (2,325,834,000 people in 1947) to a mere 12 percent of population known in terms of marriage rates specific for age and sex in selected years. Useful tables show at a glance the extent of coverage, dates, etc., among the approximately 250 statistic-gathering political units recognized in this survey, for each table of figures.

A brief but comprehensive explanatory text—in French as well as English, as are all notes and tabular headings—considers inherent problems of definition and inadequacies of original sources of data; and repeated warnings are given concerning the dangers in making simple comparisons among the tables. The latter caveats are backed by qualifying footnotes to the tables themselves. Serious scholars who draw upon the unexcelled riches of this collection should have no difficulty in avoiding pitfalls so clearly marked. An extensive bibliography listing more than one thousand titles of official sources of demographic statistics for every country and area of the world constitutes an important feature of the book. Favorable mention must also be made of the clear type face used and the clean, uncluttered design of the tables.

In conclusion, one cannot but be impressed by the patience and perseverance shown by the compilers when facing such masses of intractable facts as are here assembled. An implicit belief

in the perfectibility of international statistics must have carried them over some rough spots, e.g. the tangled data on migration. If comprehensiveness, standardization, and comparability in international demography improve in future, much of the credit must go to those who have given us the *Demographic Yearbook 1948*. It may be hoped that its timely appearance on the eve of the most important census year in history will provide official demographers everywhere with a final spur to their 1950 efforts.

STEPHEN W. REED

Yale University

Bureau of the Census Manual of Tabular Presentation: An Outline of Theory and Practice in the Presentation of Statistical Data in Tables for Publication. Prepared by BRUCE L. JENKINSON. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1949. xiii, 265 pp. \$1.50.

This is the first reference manual which presents an adequate display and explanation of "good usage" in the preparation of tables for either letterpress or typewriter-offset publication. Although it is partly a codification of practices evolved by the Bureau of the Census, wide and fruitful experience in the mass-production of tables puts the Bureau in the position of an authority on table construction.

The manual contains detailed chapters on each of the component parts of a table: title, number, headnote, footnote, stub, boxhead, and field. Each chapter begins with definitions and general principles, but the major portion is devoted to exposition and illustration of the numerous varieties of forms and exceptions. The emphasis is upon good usage, and great pains are taken to provide "right" and "wrong" examples.

An important implication of this volume is that table construction cannot be reduced to a few general principles. It requires, instead, a special extension of typographical skills. It is for this reason that earlier manuals which have tended to stress a few principles have been ineffective in improving table form. Style or good usage, as Jenkinson points out, is the set of cues for "normal expectation" on the part of the reader. These cues are still in flux at present because the table is a relatively new form of communication. It is gratifying to see that the Bureau of the Census realizes its power and responsibility to mold table style and sets out to do this with a determined application of intelligence and typographical knowledge.

The manual is written in a too elaborate reference style for the casual reader to follow easily. The variety of type sizes and faces, indents, reference numbers, etc., makes the manual a typographical feat in itself. It is surprising, however, that only five misprints could be found. The author is not consistent in the phrasing immediately following the paragraph headings: usually it is a sentence, but sometimes it is a parenthetical phrase, and the reader hunts for the verb in vain.

Those who construct tables for publication will find this manual indispensable because it provides unambiguous guides necessary for good form in every detail of the table. Those who use Census tables will esteem this manual for its instructive explanation of the mysteries of Census table form.

RICHARD A. HORNSETH

University of Wisconsin

Man in Environment: An Introduction to Sociology. By PAUL H. LANDIS. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1949. xix, 684 pp. \$4.00;

Sociology: An Introduction to Sociological Analysis. By NICHOLAS S. TIMASHEFF and PAUL W. FACEY. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1949. xiv, 399 pp. \$3.25;

Basic Sociological Principles: A Textbook for the First Course in Sociology. By MARSHALL E. JONES. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1949. xi, 524 pp. \$4.00.

The current flood of books designed for the introductory course reflects both the wide acceptance of sociology in college curricula and the expansion of the publishers' market. And agreement on fundamentals among most of the texts indicates a recognizable "common core": academic sociology is rapidly becoming patterned. That solidification, however, has not yet occurred is suggested by the varied approaches of the recently published volumes. Some of them (e.g. Sutherland and Woodward, Ogburn and Nimkoff) are essentially large compilations of loosely integrated information about social life, environment, change, etc. (with scattered interpretive leads); with these the task of systematic analysis is left to instructors. Others attempt a logical development of a particular theoretical viewpoint, say the Parsons-stimulated "structural-functional" (e.g. Bennett and Tumin, K. Davis) or MacIver's dynamic view of struc-

ture and change (e.g. MacIver and Page); with these instructors themselves must comprehend the approach (which is not always the case) and must be able to make concrete its educational significance for non-specializing students. A few authors (e.g. Cuber, Jones), citing the students' difficulties with both the compendia and the "high-level" analytical works, have produced books of elementary "principles," accenting the elementary; here the instructors' job is supplementation.

This diversity notwithstanding, common trends are clear. Almost all of the recent texts continue to show the impact of cultural anthropology. Many of them are influenced by the mounting researches in stratification, industrial life, and communications. And students may be thankful that the lucid style of the better journalism is beginning to be used by sociologists. (Is it too much to ask for literary accomplishment in a "text"?) These trends are noticeable in the three books under review.

Landis's *Man in Environment* approaches, in coverage, the compendium type, with its thirty-three chapters arranged in major divisions on natural and socialized man, environment, various groups (a division which also includes chapters on role and personality), institutions, processes, culture change, and social change. This well-known pattern is conventionally though at times thinly developed (e.g., the chapters on stratification and social control). Any teacher should be able to reconcile this text with his own convictions, for the author defends no single "school" and carefully avoids, as he says, "conceptual hairsplitting." If the instructor shares the writer's view that even (perhaps particularly) beginning students should gain a sense of system in sociology, he will find this book somewhat lacking. The volume has extensive text-trappings: some fifty photographs, cartoons, and maps, over eighty charts and tables (most of which are up to date and useful), a film bibliography, and a student's "sociological autobiography"—the last, unfortunately, a mechanical application of a few textbook terms. The instructor will certainly welcome the clear, concise, and, at times, lively style and the rich array of apt illustrative material.

Illustrations are kept to a minimum in the *Sociology* of Timasheff and Facey (respectively of Fordham University and Holy Cross College). Indeed the authors forego all charts, diagrams, footnotes, etc., though there are appended lists of suggested assignments and read-

ings. This is a book of *elementary* principles, woven together with repeatedly used "theme" concepts of interaction, function, and coordination. The organization is "inductive," i.e. an initial discussion of the familiar American family is followed by brief chapters on other types of groups, "social self," needs and functions, processes, social control, social stability and change. The organization is actually characteristic of that in a number of texts, but the treatment tends to be definitional. The unguided reader could conclude from this volume that sociology lacks contributors, growth, or controversy; he could hardly envision a dynamic discipline influenced and often buffeted by current conflicts. Still, this is a well-written little book, logically ordered and consistent with the modest claims in the introductory "Note to the Instructor." The authors state that "they have not made their social philosophy their point of departure." (p. v) With few exceptions (e.g. pp. 32-33, 226), they have succeeded in producing an exceedingly non-controversial text. Instructors who use it, however, must themselves provide the meat-and-blood and the "challenge" of our field.

Jones's *Basic Sociological Principles* is well-named. A principle, the author notes, is a statement of "general tendency under given conditions of interaction" (p. vi); his book is a meticulous and clearly-presented explanation of generally accepted fundamentals. This is especially the case in Part I, in which the treatment of group life, environment, culture, interaction, race, and personality is executed with skill and simplicity, though on an elementary level. Part II consists of the usual several chapters on major institutions and four dealing with aspects of disorganization and social processes; omitted or given skimpy attention are such significant subject-areas as community, stratification, technology and science. In the final discussion, Jones departs from conventional textbook plan by including three chapters on crime and other "social pathologies" and one on social work; he concludes with a more typical chapter on social policy and planning. In spite of these sins of omission and commission, some instructors will find this book to their liking—for its careful execution, its readability, its simplicity, its adaptability. They may regret the paucity of readings, citations, and the like, but they will be pleased with wisely-used schematic diagrams and the superb publishing job.

Students will have no real difficulty with any

of these texts. That may not be altogether a sign of their virtue.

CHARLES HUNT PAGE

Smith College

Male and Female: A Study of the Sexes in a Changing World. By MARGARET MEAD. New York: William Morrow & Company, 1949. xii, 477 pp. \$5.00.

"How are men and women to think about their maleness and their femaleness in this twentieth century, in which so many of our old ideas must be made new?" This is the question which Margaret Mead sets out to answer in this brilliant book. As a comparative background of reference Mead provides an admirably succinct account of the relations and behavioral traits of the sexes in the seven Pacific societies with which her field work has made us familiar.

A significant contribution of the book is the demonstration that cultural response to sexual difference is in some respects universally similar, and in other respects frequently dissimilar. Is the male's creativeness and greater dependence upon achievement a response to the shock of recognition that he can never have a baby, that this is unalterably the birthright of woman? Is this true of men in all societies? Is the female's sense of ambition limited by a rhythm of growth which initially makes her feel less secure than her brothers, plus the tolerable certainty of maternity? These are typical of the questions raised and critically answered in this important volume.

The purpose of the book is not to discover how the sexes differ, but rather how they complement one another. The peculiar qualities of the female have even yet not been allowed their full development. The analysis of what these qualities are, and how they may best be encouraged to develop, is a large part of the purpose of the book. Women see the world in different ways from men—by utilizing that vision the human race may learn to see itself more completely. This is an argument long overdue in the universe of science, and it is a matter for general congratulation that it should have found a contemporary advocate in so sensitive and able an anthropologist as Margaret Mead. The discussion throughout is kept on a high scientific plane and—it is very necessary to say it—nowhere is there the faintest odor of dust suggesting the dragging skirts of the feminist.

In the pursuit of her task Mead admirably states the purposes of the anthropologist and this has never been better done than in her chapter entitled "How an anthropologist writes." Every social scientist will be grateful for this luminous statement.

In a work which is so chock-full of insights, penetrating critical analyses, and heuristic suggestions Mead's references to homosexuality seem to me somewhat naive and uninformed. She seems altogether to have missed the significance of George Henry's case histories (*Sex Variants*, 2 vols., Hoeber, New York, 1941). With regard to the problem of adolescent sterility Mead is acquainted with my 1939 papers but not with my 1946 book (*Adolescent Sterility*, Thomas, Springfield, Illinois). The proofs there given have been confirmed by numerous independent workers on all sorts of mammals including man, and even on birds. As it is, Mead obfuscates the facts by offering what seems to me an ingenious though demonstrably unsound explanation of the infertility of unmarried females in non-literate societies (p. 202). When Mead writes that genetic theory has again dignified the paternal role to a genetic contribution equal to the maternal, it is obvious that she misses an excellent cue. Her statement is correct for the female offspring only. The male receives an *unequal* contribution, in the form of a deficient (Y) chromosome, from the father. This fact should have provided Mead with much rich grist for her mill. I, for one, am exceedingly sorry that she missed it. It is difficult to believe that Mead is serious when she states that the implied expectation of the permanency of marriage in the United States is "still based of course on statistics" (p. 358). Surely that expectation is based on grounds rather more profound than a knowledge of the statistics relating to divorce and the permanency of marriage?

The chapter on marriage in America is one of the most original and stimulating in the book, and is destined to arouse much beneficial discussion. And so it is with the whole book. *Male and Female* is a substantive contribution to the understanding of the sociology of the status and relations of the sexes in the United States. As Mead points out, understanding, awareness, is not enough. The more we understand the more harm we can do, as well as the more good. Well, there's the rub. Mead holds that only if one believes that the truth will make one free, is one justified in seeking and disseminating such

knowledge. To this we may say Amen—without fear of those who ask "What is Truth?" and stay not for an answer.

ASHLEY MONTAGU

Rutgers University

Marriage. By ROBERT A. HARPER. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts Co., Inc., 1949. xi, 308 pp., \$2.75.

Before You Marry. By SYLVANUS M. DUVALL. New York: Association Press, 1949. xv, 171 pp., \$2.50.

Happiness for Husbands and Wives. By HAROLD SHRYOCK. Washington: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1949, 256 pp., \$2.50.

The dissemination of knowledge is always desirable. These books, more or less competent summaries of information concerning human relations in marriage, attempt to spread sociological knowledge among those planning to marry. Harper's book can be highly commended in this effort; for it is serious, thorough, and respectful of the student's intelligence. *Before You Marry* can be severely criticized both for its patronizing attitude toward the reader—"Been thinking seriously about marriage lately? Congratulations!" (p. vii)—and its frequent lapses in logic, e.g. the argument that there must be more than sex to marriage since movie stars have more sex appeal and more divorces than other groups (pp. 12-13). *Happiness for Husbands and Wives* is even more deficient because it mixes in carefree fashion bits of scientific knowledge, folklore, commonsense, and prejudices generated by the author's own happy marriage.

To disseminate knowledge is not enough for these authors, however; they feel that they must choose the values which the person should seek in marriage. In Duvall and Shryock the values are happiness and success (definitions are lacking for both values, but one can judge from context that conscious happiness, adjustment measured by absence of conflict, and stability are meant); Harper, who is less optimistic, asks only that his advisees make a limited adjustment (pp. 3-9). The attempt to guide people through the complex realm of values is commendable; unfortunately it also demands deep ethical responsibility and moral knowledge which these authors lack. A brief analysis of the contradictions in their ethical positions will suffice to indicate this clearly.

Each of these books is written within the framework of the Christian value system. The Duvall treatise is sponsored by the Y.M.C.A., and the author of *Happiness for Husbands and Wives* is a member of a Christian religious order. Harper accepts this value system as the objective context of American marriages. If the Christian complex of values has any core directly related to human beings it is that the individual is of infinite worth and dignity. Hence he must always be treated primarily as an ultimate value and can only secondarily be reduced to the status of a means. But these authors insist on reversing this relationship by making "happiness" and "adjustment" the ends of marriage, and the person selected a means to these ends. Hence they avoid realization of the impossibility of choosing among human beings as ultimate values on a scientific basis. The choice of whom one is to love can be made only by falling in love and by the act of loving. After the choice is made all the available knowledge can be brought to bear in the solution of shared problems, but knowledge cannot be the basis of choice.

The consequence of reducing the person to the status of a means reveals itself when the attitudes of these writers toward mixed marriages and family background are contrasted with a position more compatible with the Christian and democratic ethical imperative (the following passages are from Duvall but could be paralleled from the other books):

But if both or even one social group is bigoted, the young people had best seek some one from their own cultural group. (p.56)

And through it all, keep in mind the following question: "Since (in most cases) there are so many fine young people of my own group, why do I have to go outside it to find a life partner? Why add to my difficulties and increase my risk of failure? (p. 56)

In this matter of marrying one from a different social class, we are not saying don't. We do say that it is usually better to marry someone from your own social class and thus save yourselves trouble. (p. 58)

In some extreme instances, young men have employed private investigators to report on girls in whom they were becoming interested, and their families. While this may be a bit extreme it does suggest the attitude which young people should take toward the selection of their mates. (p. 68)

These passages reflect the knowledge that our institutional structures place strong barriers in the way of considering the individual on his

own merits as an ultimate value. In effect they say "For the sake of 'happiness' and 'adjustment' conform to these norms even though they contradict democratic values. If you have not fallen in love yet, be careful to limit your attentions to those of your own group who have a good family background. If you have fallen in love, think it over, always trying to keep from adding to your difficulties." The functional relationship between such advice and the closure of a free social system, as well as the ultimate abandonment of democratic values, seems clear.

What then is the alternative? The existence of these institutional barriers and the problems they create cannot be denied. But a different perspective is required. As indicated above, knowledge of these barriers cannot determine whom one *wants* to marry. Only choice on the basis of affection and liking can determine that. If people from different groups fall in love, they are then faced with the problem of whether they, as individuals, have the resources required to treat one another, and future children, as values to be cherished, known, and cared for. In many, perhaps most, instances they will discover that they do not, and may decide to separate. Such action does not deny the superior quality of their former aspiration, but only indicates their inability to measure up to its demands. Moreover, this is always a matter of individual decision and not of statistical generalization. In the case of those who decide they do measure up, or who wish to make the attempt without certainty, one can certainly say that their aspirations are in keeping with the basic values of our civilization and can commend their choice. For, truly, in the choice of husband or wife, the alternative to romantic *Eros* is not scientism but *Agape*.

WILLIAM L. KOLB

Newcomb College,
Tulane University

The U.A.W. and Walter Reuther. By IRVING HOWE and B. J. WIDICK. New York: Random House, 1949. x, 309 pp. \$3.00.

Though not written for the sociological market, *The U.A.W. and Walter Reuther* is a work of considerable value to students of sociology. It tells the exciting story of the U.A.W. simply and straightforwardly. As such it constitutes an important case study in industrial sociology, but its sociological signifi-

cance is even wider. The authors state that "the story tells itself," and so it does. But they have made the story unfold within a broad social framework in such a way as to show its meaning for our total society. Readers interested in urban sociology, social class, ethnic relations, political organization, bureaucracy, and leadership will find much good material here.

The book is built around the setting, the growth, and the problems of the U.A.W. The first section, "Life in the Factory City" is a brief, sharp and insightful description of the impact of city life and the production line upon the life of the worker, particularly the migrant worker. The problems raised by the industrialization of southern migrants—both colored and white—in the environment of a northern industrial metropolis are clearly laid out and their meaning for the automobile industry and the U.A.W. made clear.

These materials lead naturally to the story of the union's growth and development. Adequate treatment of this process requires that the major problems met by the union in the past—e.g. the reluctance of some workers to organize, the opposition of industry, and the factional fights—all be dealt with. This responsibility is well lived up to—so well in fact, that some specific parts of the book may well be distasteful to almost all the elements in the automobile industry, management and union alike.

The three major problems seen by the authors as still facing the union are the achievement of equality for the Negro worker, the balance of democracy and bureaucracy in the union, and the future political role of the U.A.W. These are knotty problems, indeed, and while the book fortunately does not attempt to solve them for the union, it does examine them in close and useful detail.

There is no mistaking the point of view of the authors, which is made explicit in the introduction. They write as "friends" of the union and from the point of view of the non-Stalinist left. This open statement of position makes the evaluation of the materials by the reader easier, although the existence of these values on the part of the authors does not seem to the reviewer to have interfered with objective reporting of events.

It is not frequently that one finds so serious a book so well and interestingly written. As a consequence it should prove to be not only

a contribution as social data but also an aid in teaching.

PAUL K. HATT

Northwestern University

History of Naugatuck, Connecticut. By CONSTANCE MCL. GREEN. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1948 [1949]. vii, 283 pp. \$4.00.

The continuing divergence of paths followed by social scientists and social historians is apparent in this history of a New England industrial community from its founding to 1944. Using newspaper files, personal documents, and some interviews, the author presents a picture of twentieth century Naugatuck which, except for economics and technology, is incomplete and rather lifeless. By contrast Colonial Naugatuck emerges as vivid and vibrant, though even here the sociologist will note a predilection for such subjects as land purchase, genealogies, and the location of fulling mills. References are made to changes in the wake of improvements in communications and transportation, which also brought about a gradual loss of self-sufficiency. But these topics are treated descriptively rather than analytically; and family life, crime and delinquency, political manipulations, and class, ethnic, and religious cleavages are ignored or their importance depreciated. Institutions such as government, education, and religion are presented as discrete entities rather than as integral parts of a cultural totality. In short, this is a careful, selective record of events—a record almost totally devoid of human attitudes and emotions and free from generalizations and theory—no doubt precisely as the author intended and sufficiently inoffensive to satisfy the local Chamber of Commerce under whose auspices the book was first published. Dr. Green's earlier *Holyoke, Massachusetts* (1939) was richer in sociological insight and suggestion.

C. WENDELL KING

Rollins College

Group Work with American Youth: A Guide to the Practice of Leadership. By GRACE LONGWELL COYLE. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948. viii, 270 pp. \$3.50 (Text edition, \$3.00).

This work, designed to prepare both volunteer and professional workers, contains a brief statement of social and economic factors in America's use of leisure; basic assumptions of group work; the social structure of groups concerned, e.g., friendship, avocational, national agency,

and administrative; social and psychological factors related to the group leader's part in formation of groups; interpersonal relations; achievement of democratic control; the art of program making; the group leader and the individual member, and some guides to leadership. The title underscores the fact that the major efforts in social group work relate to adolescents.

The text, by the Professor of Group Work at Western Reserve University, is one of the few available. It is not the first work in the field by this author; others, now out of print, appeared in 1930 and 1937. It differs from other recent texts in its variation on other schools of thought and in its absence of an attempt to treat the problems of supervision of group workers. The method is generally descriptive and analytical. The records of nine groups are used frequently for illustrative purposes; these groups were led presumably by students of the author. Sociograms, constructed by the group leaders, are used in connection with three of these groups.

For the sociologist, some of the dilemmas of theory and practice in a growing profession are demonstrated; for the social worker, there is far more material on social case work in group settings than on techniques for group integration.

Those who have performed social group work should be encouraged to create a literature.

RICHARD M. SEAMAN

University of South Dakota

Psychological Warfare. By PAUL M. A. LINEBARGER. Washington, D.C.: Infantry Journal Press, 1948. xiii, 259 pp. \$3.50.

The full story of propaganda between or among nations during World War II will probably never be completely told. It will doubtless be some years before even reasonably full accounts can be prepared by historians. In the meantime various books are appearing which give some knowledge and insight into the working of wartime propaganda. The one under review has brought together a large mass of detail and contains much shrewd insight into the nature of psychological warfare on many fronts.

The book is divided into three parts. The first six chapters comprise Part One, "Definition and History." There is an interesting and informative chapter of historical examples of psychological warfare, followed by three dealing with the functions, definitions, and limitations of such propaganda. Two chapters are given

over to descriptions of psychological warfare in the two world wars. Part Two, "Analysis, Intelligence, and Estimate of the Situation," in three chapters, treats the practical aspects of analyzing enemy propaganda, audience effects, and the need of careful estimates of the situation or object toward which a given propaganda campaign is to be directed. Part Three, "Planning and Operations," in five chapters, gives a running account of some of the troubles of our wartime propaganda enterprises as well as of the way some of the difficulties were overcome.

The careful student of public opinion and its uses will detect at once that this book is not an objective and systematic analysis of propaganda. It is rather, in the author's own words, "a patchwork of enthusiastic recollection," covering a wide range of methods, content, and value judgments about propaganda operations on practically every battle front of the war. Yet as a sourcebook of information and practical advice on how to operate a propaganda machine, it is a real contribution to applied social science.

There are, however, some matters of pertinent systematic interest such as his definitions of propaganda, various subcategories, and his scheme of analysis. Linebarger defines propaganda as consisting of the "planned use of any form of communication designed to affect the minds, emotions, and action of any given group for a specific purpose." (p. 39) This is so broad as to cover education, advertising, preaching, and all forms of persuasion of groups. Wartime propaganda is more narrowly "designed to affect the minds and emotions of a given group for a specific public purpose, whether military, economic, or political." (p. 39) And still more specifically "military propaganda consists of the planned use of any form of communication designed to affect the minds and emotions of a given enemy, neutral or friendly foreign group for a specific strategic or tactical purpose." (p. 39) Yet a little later, he uses the concept of psychological warfare in a broader sense than this when he states: "Psychological warfare comprises the use of propaganda against an enemy, together with such operational measures of a military, economic, or political nature as may be required to supplement propaganda." (p. 40). It would seem from this last that espionage, economic pressures, and diplomacy—to use three examples—may also be considered as falling under the broad rubric of psychological warfare. All this is but to say that no matter how logical and systematic one's definition may be, in a practical sense psychological warfare is

really part of the larger strategy of present-day total war.

The author distinguishes between veiled and open propaganda under the terms "covert" and "overt." So, too, propaganda may be "offensive" or "defensive" in aim. But more useful for him is his breakdown of propaganda into five elements or features, for which he uses his own neologism STASM. This is derived from S for *Source*, including the media, T for *Time*, A for *Audience*, S for *Subject*, and M for *Mission*. *Source* refers to the point of origin. In terms of timing, propaganda may be long-range or strategic, or short-range or tactical. In terms of the audience, propaganda may be conversionary, divisive, consolidative, or take the form of counter measures. The Subject or content is illustrated by straight news or information, falsification, and emotionalized appeals of various sorts. The concept Mission "covers the presumed effect which the enemy seeks by dissemination of the item." (p. 44)

Despite its somewhat repetitious and discursive style the book is fascinating reading, and the many pictures alone will repay study. The author has a hard-headed view as to what one may and may not do with propaganda, either during wartime or as at present in the days of a "cold war" between Western Powers and Russia and her collaborators. He demonstrates again and again the apt remark of Aldous Huxley that "the propagandist is a man who canalizes an already existing stream. In a land where there is no water, he digs in vain."

KIMBALL YOUNG

Northwestern University

Modern American Society: Readings in the Problems of Order and Change. By KINGSLEY DAVIS, HARRY C. BREDEMEIER, and MARION J. LEVY, JR. New York: Rinehart & Co., 1949. xviii, 734 pp. \$4.50.

One result of the curriculum upheaval of recent years is the widespread introduction of courses on contemporary American society which bring together and attempt to integrate materials from the various social science disciplines. It is understandable, in view of their professional concern with the integration (and disintegration) of social systems that sociologists are called upon at times to play a principal role in such courses. This role and this concern are illustrated by the volume under review.

Professors Davis, Bredemeier, and Levy, formerly colleagues at Princeton, have edited a

useful collection of readings for the integrated study of American society. The latter's most significant features, it may be assumed, are indicated by the volume's major divisions: the "American credo," urbanism, industry and business, the class system, "racial" and ethnic cleavage, education and public opinion, religion, recreational activities, marriage and family. The glaring omission in this otherwise broad coverage is, of course, the political and governmental complex (presumably treated elsewhere in the Princeton curriculum). The readings run to almost one hundred items and include such diverse sources as the Declaration of Independence, the Communist Manifesto, Sartre, Berle and Means, the Dies Committee, Myrdal, the Lynds, and Kingsley Davis (nine items). Many will quarrel with this or that particular choice; but the selections, on the whole, provide excellent descriptive materials and some suggestive analytical discussion. Each chapter is prefaced by a very brief editorial statement, designed to serve as a general guide and to make clear the reasoning behind the selections; but, as in many—though not all—books of "readings," the intended functions of the statements are obscured by their brevity and by the diversity and bulk of the readings themselves. However, these are technical and, perhaps, superficial shortcomings.

The real merit of this volume lies in its approach. Taking the system of traditional American values as a fact of major sociological importance, the editors not only delineate that system succinctly (especially in the second and concluding chapters), but seek to show in principal areas of American life the extent to which different elements of our value-credo are fulfilled and/or frustrated by the institutional structure. The relation between the value scheme and the "actual functioning" of the social order is the key, then, to the study of unity and disunity, integration and disintegration, in American society. America's disunities are evidenced, for example, in racial caste and in the monopolization of communications; her functional integration, on the other hand, is abetted by such phenomena as the conjugal family system and the Protestantism's "worldly asceticism." This "functional" approach, familiar to sociologists, unfortunately does not become altogether clear to the student until he reaches the editors' admirable terminal chapter, "Stability and Instability in American Society." Had this chapter's valuable contents been more explicitly developed throughout, *Modern American Society*

would be not only the useful book of readings it already is but an excellent "text" as well.

CHARLES H. PAGE

Smith College

Indians of the Urban Northwest. Edited by MARIAN W. SMITH. New York: Columbia University Press, 1949. 370 pp. \$6.00.

Indians of the Urban Northwest is a potpourri of thirteen research papers dealing with the Indians of Northwestern Washington and adjoining parts of British Columbia, tenuously drawn together by an introductory essay on the general characteristics of their culture. The volume has no unity but the geographical; the essays vary in their time referent from undated archeological investigations to the current schism in the Shaker religious movement; they range in subject matter from physical type to folklore. Between these extremes lie essays on food getting, painting, music, language, basketry, community life and childhood, and a detailed life history of a nonogenarian shaman. This Boasian eclecticism is rationalized by its editor as follows: "It was felt desirable to reiterate the anthropological position which claims that its four branches are necessarily interrelated. . . . If there were any predictable relations between them, descriptions of human life would be greatly simplified. But there are none. One cannot predict a man's language from the color of his skin or the history of his nation from the manner in which he obtains his food." (pp. ix-x)

A number of essays, however, are particularly interesting to the sociologist. Miss Smith's introduction gives a general picture of the Salish Indian ethos, with its individuation of social action and insistence on personal success. But the demand for association, and the absence of the duality of good and evil alters the formula in significant ways. Both the similarities and differences appear in the discussion of Northwest Coast folklore. Betty Uchitelle Randall points out that the Cinderella theme appears in the Indian stories as a concomitant to a social system in which status is associated with wealth and the desire for prestige is given overt expression. But Northwestern Cinderellas differ in that they have human emotions and are not mere protoplasmic globules impinged upon by the forces of good and evil. Despite opaque and often inaccurate writing and certain crudities in analytic technique, this is a most provocative paper.

A play-by-play description of home life in three families by Joanne Schriver and Eleanor

B. Leacock adds to our empirical evidence on child rearing practices for cross-cultural comparison. Valuable as the data are, the product suffers from several anthropological vices: the absence of empirical frame of reference, the unwillingness to go outside the anthropological field for materials and concepts, and the idealization of the native. The authors have in mind the hectic, demanding, ego-involved pattern of urban middle-class child care when they describe the relaxed, loving and home-centered pattern of family life in these Salish families. But the roseate description doesn't prepare the reader for such behavior patterns as compulsive toy-destruction or the desire to leave home when nearly grown. Fewer value judgments and a greater concern with implications would have improved the essay. Mrs. Leacock also studied a congeries of families which she calls the Seabird Community, an island containing 38 houses in close physical proximity. She demonstrates the absence of any community of interests or community identification, thus questioning the importance of geographic proximity for community formation. This makes a nice cross-cultural footnote for a sociological iconoclast. (Helen Geodere throws another ready generalization to the winds when she points out that the extremely small stature of the Harrison Lake Indians is not "a matter of any concern to the people involved.")

Erna Gunther gives a detailed description of the origin and development of a religious cult which originated among the Coast Salish and spread as far as California and British Columbia. Her description of the processes of formation, the relation between individual and social movement, and the schismatic tendencies offer valuable data to the student of culture change.

The sociologist should be warned against the misleading title. The book may be sought in the vain hope that here at last is a much-needed study of the adjustment of Indians to urban life; the phrase "Urban Northwest" merely has geographic reference. On the whole, however, the book gives valuable data on frequently overlooked aspects of culture among a people who are little known outside the fraternity of ethnological specialists. The bookmaking is excellent and there are a number of plates and illustrations. The publishers would have done the reader a service if they had given more information about the authors, many of whom appear to be graduate students.

WALTER GOLDSCHMIDT

University of California at Los Angeles

The Awakening Valley. By JOHN COLLIER, JR. and ANÍBAL BUITRÓN. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949. 199 pp. \$6.00.

The Indians of Otavalo, an ancient community in the highlands of Ecuador, after their subjection to the Incas and then for three centuries to the Spanish, found themselves like so many other Indian groups in a poor and depressed state vis-a-vis the "whites" and mestizos. Despite this history they have clung to their own culture, making adaptations as necessary to both Inca and Spanish domination and contact, and never relinquishing their own essential ethos. Thirty years ago a white landlord asked a native weaver to prepare some bolts of wool for a suit. From this initial project the Indians have built a local industry for an outside market; the community income has increased; and individuals have begun to buy back Otavalo lands so as to become independent of the big landlords. The emergence of a self-reliant, and at the same time well integrated, contemporary Indian community is the "social miracle" referred to on the dust jacket of this handsome ethno-photographic survey.

The study is a joint product of Aníbal Buitrón, a leading Ecuadorean anthropologist (resident of Otavalo) who provided the cultural data; of his wife, who rendered it into smooth, rich English; and of John Collier, Jr., who took the superb pictures during a summer's work in the community in collaboration with the Buitróns and the Indians. The result is an unusually effective record of the community: its dramatic physical environment, basic interests, daily life.

The closest parallels to this type of textual and photographic record of a community are those of Covarrubias in Bali and Mexico, the chief difference being the brevity of text in the

study under review, which makes it more impressionistic. But like the Covarrubias studies, *The Awakening Valley* provides a dimension usually lacking even in illustrated ethnographic reports. The authors have achieved a remarkable success in combining socially meaningful photographic studies with a prose description of communal configurations.

To a critical reader the only drawback in the book is the authors' enthusiasm for the Indians and their social miracle, which leads them into an almost mystical admiration for blood and soil. "The Indians have what the white man has not—energy and profound faith. The center of their energy and their faith is their land. Not just any land, but *their* land on the slopes of Mount Imbabura." (p. 195) There is also a tendency to over-generalize for effect: "The Spaniards . . . decreed their *every* act." "Captain Sebastian Belacazar subjugated Ecuador ending *for all time* the Indian rule of the Andes." (italics supplied)

The authors give an interesting though brief analysis of local meanings of the terms "white," "mestizo," and "Indian," showing that these are essentially class rather than racist distinctions. Mobility up and down the hierarchy is possible. They also provide useful data for the comparative study of peasant communities. The reviewer noted several basic similarities here to life in a Japanese village: for example, the differing functions of the praying priest and the orthodox church minister, the festive calendar, the rhythmic alternation between times for work and times for drinking. The book is thus a contribution to the comparative analysis of peasant communities.

JOHN F. EMBREE

Yale University

BOOK NOTES

Courtship and Marriage: A Study in Social Relationships. By FRANCIS E. MERRILL. New York: William Sloane Associates, Inc., 1949. x, 366 pp. \$2.85.

This is one of the better of the many recent volumes on courtship and marriage. Unlike many other works in the field, it does not pretend to be a practical guide to a successful marriage, a study of the history of courtship and marriage, nor a treatise on the institutional aspects of the family. The book is primarily a study of courtship and marriage as social relationships whose most significant characteristics

are determined by their place in American society. It is limited, however, to marriage and courtship in contemporary, "middle class" (largely college-educated) American society.

While noting variations in behavior arising from personality differences, the author, as a sociologist, is primarily interested in group uniformities. The first part of the book, a description and analysis of courtship, is based on the premise that courtship in America is influenced to a unique degree by romantic love. In addition to true courtship, this section deals with the phenomenon of dating as well. Part II,

"Marriage," is concerned with the roles played by the husband and wife in marriage, and it is the author's contention that every marriage is broadly determined by these roles. Furthermore, these roles are established by society, and thus each person plays his part in marriage according to the general expectations of his culture.

As an analysis of the vital sequence of relationships preceding and following matrimony among the college-educated, the book provides a mature and balanced interpretation of courtship and marriage among this segment of the population.

Living Through the Older Years. Edited by CLARK TIBBITTS. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1949. 193 pp. \$2.00.

This little book—a memorial to Charles A. Fisher, former director of the University of Michigan Extension Service—contains eleven addresses on problems of later maturity and old age. The well-chosen contributions, ranging from biological to religious aspects of aging, sum up pertinent concepts and facts for professional welfare workers and also succeed in presenting their findings in a manner appealing to the interests of the general reader. In fact, it would be difficult to suggest a finer small volume to recommend to aging persons who may wish to read something on the subject.

The social and personal problems of old age are handled in a sensitive, sensible, and optimistic, as well as realistic, manner. Examples of some fine points made are these: later maturity is a long period of continuous change, like any other segment of the life course; individual differences remain important here as elsewhere; continuities in life patterns of adjustment persist (e.g., insecurities or other personal characteristics of youth and middle age hold over); aging is a great deal more than an economic and biological problem, its problems permeate all of life; even in old age there are no genuine substitutes for useful activity and personal independence; aging should be regarded as a natural process; in a suitable setting old age can become a good, if not the best, part of life; and, in essence, unsuccessful old age means a premature withdrawal from active participation in the affairs of daily living.

In general, the book displays a fine balance of information, insight, realism, inspiration, and even good humor. But the final impression for the reader is likely to suffer, somewhat, because of the lack of a good summary statement; for, unfortunately, the last chapter is the weakest.

Balkan Village. By IRWIN T. SANDERS. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1949. xiv, 291 pp. \$4.00.

Balkan Village is a report of a highly personal community study carried on at intervals from 1929 to 1945 in Dragalevtsy, a *Shopski* peasant village about four miles outside of Sofia, Bulgaria. As a fairly complete ethnographic account of a "conservative" Balkan folk culture, it makes fascinating reading; teachers may find it a refreshing antidote to ordinary anthropological fare dealing with communities completely removed from Western cultural traditions. The book is unique in its depiction of processes of change in a peasant community. The chapters on Communism—written after a 1945 visit to Dragalevtsy—are of special interest, not only because of their documentation of Communism's impact on a peasant village, but in their assessment of changes during the war years. References are made throughout the book to the old social system centering in the *zadruga*, or patrilocal extended family, which persisted until the end of Turkish hegemony in 1878, but systematic description of this "basal" culture is lacking. The chapter on "The Good Old Days," which might have remedied this, is unsatisfactory.

The chief criticism which can be made of the book concerns its rather haphazard organization. But this defect is more than compensated for by the engrossing flow of incidents—supplemented by photographs—which give the reader almost a personal experience of the village.

To Dwell in Safety. By MARK WISCHNITZER. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1949. xxv, 368 pp. \$4.00.

A constant theme in the history of the Jews has been migration to escape actual or threatened persecution. Since 1800 some four million European Jews have migrated to the far corners of the world, though Palestine and the United States have been the coveted goals. Even more would have migrated and fewer would have lost their lives if countries of immigration had been more liberal in opening their doors to them. More than half of these overseas migrants have been aided by special organizations set up in countries of emigration, transmigration, and immigration. It is with these organizations that Dr. Wischnitzer, an historian by profession, who has also had practical experience in immigrant aid, is primarily concerned. They are viewed from the standpoint of Jewish history and social life as well as that of social work. The record is covered in great detail, involving a tremen-

dous amount of research. There are 65 pages of appendices, including statistics of Jewish immigration into various countries, a list of Jewish organizations engaged in migration and colonization work, and research notes. There are also illustrations and maps.

Prophets of Deceit: A Study of the Techniques of the American Agitator. By LEO LOWENTHAL and NORBERT GUTERMAN. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1949. xvii, 164 pp. \$2.50.

This is one of a series of studies being prepared by the Department of Scientific Research of the American Jewish Congress. The title refers to anti-Semitic agitators in America whose doctrines of hate mislead the public. These demagogues, the authors claim, are members of a single species, collectively identifiable as "the agitator." Twenty-one themes, leaning heavily on psychoanalytic theory, are distinguished as the "constants" in the agitator's message; these themes are skillfully related by the authors to the *malaise* which afflicts our society.

Sociologists may wonder why the authors felt the need for their new concept of *malaise* when Durkheim's widely accepted *anomie* was ready to hand; here was an opportunity to add to a consistent body of theory, yet it was not accepted. Moreover, while the authors realize that their interpretations are tentative and hypothetical, the hypotheses remain implicit in the wealth of documentation. More explicit and concise statement of their hypotheses would have added to the book's usefulness. Despite these possible weaknesses, the book remains a genuine contribution. Its suggestiveness and stimulation derive in no small measure from the fine writing which it contains.

The Indians of the Southwest: A Century of Development under the United States. By EDWARD EVERETT DALL. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1949. xvi, 283 pp. \$4.00.

This volume, twenty-eighth in the Civilization of the American Indians publications of the University of Oklahoma Press, is a worthy addition to an excellent series. The author, research professor of history and director of the Frank Phillips Collection of Indian materials in the University of Oklahoma, was a member of the famous Meriam Commission in 1926-27 and has long been a student of Indian affairs. His present volume is a general survey of 100 years of Indian administration in the Southwest, in the territory acquired from Mexico in 1848. It recounts the slow and painful steps

by which the Indians who thus came under American sovereignty have been guided by the Federal government in their pursuit of education and civilization. It is a story of neglect, treaty violation, corruption, graft, and incompetence, but also of patient effort to improve the condition of the Indians, look after their health, advance their education, and protect them. The army officers, agents, and other personalities, Indian and white, involved in this all too human series of events, are intimately portrayed. Sociologists will find especially interesting the chapters on The Agent and His Wards, Education and Schools, Health and Medical Services, and the concluding chapters on current problems. There are 5 maps and 32 illustrations.

Labor-Management Relations: A Research Planning Memorandum. By JOHN G. TURNBULL. New York: Social Science Research Council (Bulletin 61) 1949. ix, 112 pp. \$1.25.

This brief study attempts to review the growing quantity of research materials on union-management relations and to "explore" an approach "which may have certain values for future investigations." One may assume, therefore, that it prescribes the kind of work which the SSRC should support. As such the social scientist is likely to find it disappointing, for its self-imposed limitations narrowly restrict the field of inquiry and practically exclude the fundamental body of social science theory both as a basis for directing research and as a subject for testing.

Essentially Turnbull's proposal is to discover whether studies of union-management relations have produced precise hypotheses, less precise "inferences," or even simple suggestions which might be checked empirically or utilized to guide further study. Available work, he concludes, has remained on a "proximate" rather than a theoretical level, which leads him to treat with the former in this review. Despite his opinion that ultimate answers may have to be sought in the basic concepts of physiology, psychology, and sociology, he chooses to regard his problems as industrial rather than scientific. The study is not without interest on its own level—both as a summary of work done and as a collection of questions which want answering. It should be noted, moreover, that Turnbull is not unaware of the contributions which social science might make; he merely excludes it from primary consideration in his research planning memorandum. It is this exclusionist policy which is discouraging, especially in a document issued

by an organization presumably devoted to the welfare and development of social science.

Problems in the Collection and Comparability of International Statistics: Papers presented at the Round Table on International Statistics. (1948 Conference of the Milbank Memorial Fund, November 17-18, 1948; Lowell J. Reed, chairman) New York: Milbank Memorial Fund, 1949. 165 pp. 50 cents.

In the welter of current "symposiums," readings, and other series of papers by several hands, this collection deserves special mention. It is scholarly in the best sense; it provides much new knowledge; and it cleaves consistently to its central theme against the backdrop of the entire quantifiable contemporary world society.

Of the eleven papers here offered by as many internationally recognized experts, four are concerned with problems of population statistics as usually defined; two treat with morbidity and mortality; and one each is devoted to international statistics of food and agriculture, labor and employment, and family income respectively. Willcox opens the discussion with an interesting historical note on some of the beginnings of international statistics a century ago, and W. R. Leonard's concluding paper presents a hopeful general assessment and prognostication. Except for the contributions of Dudley Kirk on international population statistics and Max Lacroix on migration statistics, all of these papers have appeared in the April or July (1949) issue of the Milbank Memorial Fund *Quarterly*. The usefulness of such convenient and economical reprints for students and teachers in the social sciences must be apparent to all. This is a small but important part of sociology's indebtedness to the Milbank Memorial Fund.

Press, Film, Radio: Report of the Commission on Technical Needs; Following Surveys in Fourteen Countries and Territories. Prepared by UNESCO. Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (Columbia University Press, distributor) 1949. 296 pp. \$1.20.

This, the third report of the Commission on Technical Needs of the Press, Film, and Radio, is a mine of factual information on existing communications facilities in selected countries of Europe, Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Indeed, the title fails to indicate the range of materials covered. Not only are technical needs discussed, but recommendations also are offered concerning professional standards, governmental control of the media, and the extent of UN-

ESCO's co-operation with international agencies of communication. The organization of this material should provide a stimulus to cross-cultural research in mass communication and help social scientists who work in this field to overcome the narrow provincialism which has marked its development thus far.

The major value of the report will undoubtedly be felt in the United Nations itself. On the basis of the information here presented, that organization will be better prepared to lend aid in the reconstruction of damaged equipment, to provide new facilities in areas where such are lacking, and to work toward the elimination of artificial barriers to international communication. Surely this is important work in a world sorely in need of international understanding.

Culture and Personality: Proceedings of an Interdisciplinary Conference held under auspices of the Viking Fund, November 7 and 8, 1947. Edited by S. STANSFELD SARGENT and MARIAN W. SMITH. New York: The Viking Fund, 1949. 219 pp. \$1.50.

This variegated and uneven symposium contains articles by several persons either summarizing work done in the title field (Klineberg on studies of national character, Komarovskiy and Sargent on sub-cultural effects on personality) or reviewing various approaches to it (Kardiner, Fromm, Herzog, Bidney). Two other papers are methodological: Kluckhohn suggests refinements in collection and use of life-history materials; and Murray gives words of wisdom on the tasks of social science.

More challenging are the papers attempting to develop systematic theories of culture and personality. Here should be noted Gardiner Murphy's preliminary insistence that the culture-personality problem be considered from the point of view of a unified "psychocultural" field theory, Linton's concept of status personality, Hanks's correlation of individual differences with the less institutionalized aspects of behavior, and the late Harry Stack Sullivan's non-Freudian formulation of psychodynamics. Each of these papers warrants special study by students.

The transcript of discussion which followed each paper not only amplifies their content, but inadvertently illuminates the workings of academic minds. Despite lip service to the ideal of interdisciplinary cooperation, some representatives of the several disciplines seem to be either incapable or unwilling to think in terms other than those of their own specialty; the eagerness to score an intellectual "coup" often appears to override the desire to advance knowledge.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

(Listing of a publication below does not preclude its subsequent review)

- ADAMS, CLIFFORD R. *Looking Ahead to Marriage*. Chicago: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1949. 48 pp. 60 cents.
- ALTAMIRA, RAFAEL. *A History of Spain: From the Beginnings to the Present Day*. (Translated by Muna Lee). New York: D. Van Nostrand, Inc., 1949. xxx, 748 pp. \$6.75.
- BARUCH, DOROTHY W. *How to Discipline Your Children*. New York: Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1949. 31 pp. 20 cents.
- BERKELEY, EDMUND CALLIS. *Giant Brains: Or Machines that Think*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1949. xiv, 270 pp. \$4.00.
- BERNARD, JESSIE. *American Community Behavior: An Analysis of Problems Confronting American Communities Today*. New York: The Dryden Press, 1949. xvi, 688 pp. \$4.50.
- BLAKESLEE, ALTON L. *TB—The Killer Cornered*. New York: Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1949. 31 pp. 30 cents.
- BRUNNER, EDMUND DE S. and E. HSIN PAO YANG. *Rural America and the Extension Service: A History and Critique of the Cooperative Agricultural and Home Economics Extension Service*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1949. xii, 210 pp. \$3.00 (paper \$2.80).
- [CARNEGIE FOUNDATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF TEACHING.] *Forty-Fourth Annual Report: For the Year Ended June 30, 1949*. New York: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1949. 61 pp. No price indicated.
- CARTER, HODDING. *Southern Legacy*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950. 186 pp. \$3.00.
- CEBALLOS, ANTONIO ORDOÑEZ, EDUARDO SANTOS RUBIO, and BENJAMIN AREVALO CORREAL. *Anuario de Comercio Exterior: Colombia—1947*. Bogotá, Colombia: Imprenta Nacional (Contraloría General de la República, Dirección Nacional de Estadística) 1949. li, 1005 pp. No price indicated.
- CHENG, DAVID TE-CHAO. *Acculturation of the Chinese in the United States: A Philadelphia Study*. Foochow, China: The Fukien Christian University Press, 1948. x, 280 pp. [A limited number of copies at \$2.50 each is available through the Department of Sociology, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4, Pa.]
- CLISSOLD, STEPHEN. *Whirlwind: An Account of Marshal Tito's Rise to Power*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1949 [1950]. 245 pp. \$3.75.
- COLSON, ELIZABETH, J. M. WINTERBOTTOM, and MAX GLUCKMAN (Editors). *Human Problems in British Central Africa*. Capetown: Oxford University Press (The Rhodes Livingston Journal, Number Seven), 1949. 94 pp. 4s.
- CREMEANS, CHARLES DAVIS. *The Reception of Calvinistic Thought in England*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press (Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Vol. XXI, No. 1), 1949. viii, 127 pp. No price indicated.
- DAVIS, ROBERT TYLER, WILLIAM REAGH, and ALVIN LUSTIG. *Native Arts of the Pacific Northwest*. Stanford: Stanford University Press (Stanford Art Series, Vol. I), 1949. 165 pp. \$7.50.
- DICKINSON, FRANK G. *Misuse of American Association Data*. Chicago: American Medical Association (Bulletin 68), 1949. 8 pp. No price indicated.
- DICKINSON, FRANK G. *Analysis of the Ewing Report*. Chicago: American Medical Association (Bulletin 69), 1949. 15 pp. No price indicated.
- DICKINSON, FRANK G. *A Brief History of the Attitude of the American Medical Association Toward Voluntary Health Insurance*. Chicago: American Medical Association (Bulletin 70), 1949. 30 pp. No price indicated.
- DICKINSON, FRANK G. *How Much Do Blue Cross and Blue Shield Health Insurance Plans Pay?* Chicago: American Medical Association (Bulletin 71), 1949. 8 pp. No price indicated.
- FERM, VERGILIUS (Editor). *Forgotten Religions: Including Some Living Primitive Religions*. New York: The Philosophical Library, 1950. xi, 392 pp. \$7.50.
- GARCIA, ANTONIO. *Planificación Municipal y Presupuesto de Inversiones: Esquema de Una Reforma Municipal en Colombia*. Bogotá, Colombia: Imprenta Municipal, 1949. 288 pp. No price indicated.
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- GOGGIN, JOHN M. and FRANK H. SOMMER III. *Excavations on Upper Matecumbe Key, Florida*. GORDON S. WILLEY, *Excavations in Southeast Florida*. New Haven: Yale University Press (Yale University Publications in Anthropology, Nos. 41, 42), 1949. 101 pp. and 137 pp. \$3.50. [Bound together]
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- HAAS, ROBERT BARTLETT (Editor). *Psychodrama and Sociodrama in American Education*. New York: Beacon House, 1949. xxi, 251/439 pp. \$6.75.
- HART, SAMUEL L. *Treatise on Values*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1949. 165 pp. \$3.75.
- [HEALTH AND WELFARE FEDERATION OF ALLEGHENY

- COUNTY, BUREAU OF SOCIAL RESEARCH] *Children's Census: Children Receiving Foster Home and Institutional Care in Allegheny County, December 31, 1947*. Pittsburgh: Bureau of Social Research, Health and Welfare Federation of Allegheny County, 1949. iv, 63 pp. No price indicated.
- HEBB, D. O. *The Organization of Behavior: A Neuropsychological Theory*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1949. xix, 335 pp. \$4.00.
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